

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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1871.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—
MILTON.

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CLCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CV.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
ART. I.—THE DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE, AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.	
Supplement to the <i>Gazette of India</i> , dated 21st January 1871	1
„ II.—PRISON MANAGEMENT.	
The Prisons' Act, 1870	29
„ III.—THE FERINGHEES OF CHITTAGONG. ...	57
„ IV.—THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.	
Administration Report by the Resident at Hyderabad, including a Report on the administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts for the year 1869-70. By Charles B. Saunders, Esq., C.B., Bengal Civil Service, Resident at Hyderabad	90
„ V.—BERKELEY AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.	
The Works of George Berkeley, D.D., formerly Bishop of Cloyne: including many of his writings hitherto unpublished. With Prefaces, Annotations, His Life and Letters and an account of his Philosophy. By Alexander Campbell Fraser, M.A., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. In four Volumes, Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1871	129
„ VI.—THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI.	
1.—The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli. Illustrated by Coins, Inscriptions, and other Antiquarian Remains. By Edward Thomas, late of the East India Company's Service; Member of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal, London, and Paris. Trübner and Co. London. 1871.	
2.—A Student's Manual of the History of India from the earliest period to the present. By Meadows Taylor, C.S.I., M.B.A.S., M.B.L.A., &c. Longmans, Green, and Co. London. 1870.	
3.—The History of India. The Hindu and Mahometan Periods. By the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone. Fifth	

edition, with notes and additions by E B Cowell M A,
late Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
Murray, London 1866.

- 4 —The History of India, as told by its own Historians.
The Muhammadan Period. Vols I, II, III By Sir
H M. Elliot, K C B Edited by Professor John Dowson,
M R A S Trubner and Co London

ART VII—THE WILD TRIBES OF INDIA

Political Dissertation prefixed to a Comparative Dictionary
of the languages of India and High Asia By W W
Hunter, B A, M R A S London 1868

A Sketch of Mhairwarra, by Col Dixon

CRITICAL NOTICES—

Notes on Kaira, a District in fertile Gujarát, having
special reference to the recent revision of land settle-
ment in that zilla and the question of the extra cess on
wells in Gujarat With appendices, containing official
and other correspondence on the subject By Javerlal
Umiashankar Yajnik Reprinted from the *Times of
India*, Bombay *Times of India Office* .

Manual of Coorg A Gazetteer of the natural features
of the country and the social and political condition of
its inhabitants. Compiled by Rev G Richter, Prin-
cipal, Government Central School, Mercara and Inspec-
tor of the Coorg Schools With a map and four illus-
trations Mangalore Basel Mission Book Depository.
1670

Memoir of George Edward Lynch Cotton, D D, Bishop
of Calcutta and Metropolitan, with Selections from his
Journals and Correspondence Edited by Mrs Cotton.
London. Longmans, Green & Co 1871 ... ,

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CVI.

CONTENTS.

ART.		PAGE.
I.—	BUDDHISM AND THE SANKHYA PHILOSOPHY.	
1.—	A Lecture on Hindu Philosophy. By Babu Rajkrishna Mukarjya, M.A. Calcutta. 1870.	
2.—	Sánkhya Aphorisms of Kapila. By J. R. Ballantyne, LL.D. Calcutta. 1865.	
3.—	Chips from a German Workshop. By Max Müller, M.A. Vol. I. London. 1867.	
4.—	Le Bouddha et sa Religion. Par J. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Membre de l'Institut. Paris. 1860	191
II.—	RUSSIAN TRADE WITH INDIA.	
	Supplement to the <i>Gazette of India</i> , November 26, 1870	204
III.—	BURMAH, PAST AND PRESENT	227
IV.—	THE PANJA'B RA'JA'S.	
	The Rájás of the Panjáb : being the History of the Principal States in the Panjáb, and their political relations with the British Government. By Lepel H. Griffin. Lahore. 1870	244
V.—	INDIAN LAND REVENUE	267
VI.—	THE ROAD CESS ACT, 1871	295
VII.—	PHYSICAL SCIENCE IN THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY	321
VIII.—	TOPICS OF THE QUARTER	344
	Jails	345
	The Lushai Expedition	348
	Education in Bengal	351
	Mr. Campbell's Income-Tax Minute	358
	Mr. Campbell and the Board of Revenue	360
	Settlement Operations	362
	Promotion in the Civil Service	364
	A College for the Native Nobility...	366

CRITICAL NOTICES—

1. VERNACULAR LITERATURE :—

	PAGE.
Mobabhoga. By Krishna Chandra Majumdar. Dacca : Bengal Press. B.E. 1277	xvii
Hindu-Melā-Vivarana. Published by the order of the Committee of the "Hindu Melā." Calcutta : National Press. Sakābdā 1791	ib.
Koutuka-ratnāvali. By J. B. Calcutta : Hindi-Sanskrit Press. Samvat 1926	ib.
Maithili-Milan. A Drama. By Bholā Nāth Mukhopādhyāya. Calcutta : Harihar Press, Sakābdā 1792	xviii
Mātrisikshā. By Ganga Prasād Mukhopādhyāya, M.B. Bhavānipur : Sāptahikā Sambād Press. Sākābdā 1792	ib.
Mālati-Mādhava. By Nagendra Nāth Bandyopādhyāya. Calcutta : Harihar Press. Sakābdā 1792	xix
Marte-habe. By Yādū Nāth Bhattachārjya. Calcutta : Vidyaratna Press	xx
Bhāgavata-tattvabodhikā. Edited by Rām Nārāyana Vidyaratna. Moorshedabad. Berhampore Satyaratna Press. B.E. 1278	ib.
Satsange Svargabās, Asatsange Sarvanāsa. By Tāraknāth Chakravartī. Calcutta : Columbian Press. B.E. 1278	ib.
Brāhmadharma o Brāhmasamāja. Calcutta : Valmiki Press. Sak. 1792	ib.
London-Rāhāsyā. By Hari Charan Rāya. Moorshedabad : Berhampore Satyaratna Press. B.E. 1278	xxi
Kusamkāmini Nāṭaka. By Dhīresā Chandra Dāsa. Calcutta : Hindu Press. B.E. 1277.	ib.
U'navins'a Purāna. Hooghly : Budhodaya Press. B.E. 1276	ib.
Lalita-Kavitāvalī. Calcutta : Stanhope Press. 1870	ib.
Karttābhajāṅ Gītāvalī. Collected by Lāl S'asi. Calcutta : Chaitanya Chandrodaya Press. B.E. 1277	ib.
Sāhitya Sangraha. Govinda Dāsa. Calcutta : Gupta Press B.E. 1278	xxii
Hālisahar Patrika. Serampore : Alfred Press. B.E. 1278, Nos. I, II, and III	ib.
Padya-kānana. Part I. By Yogendra Nāth Basu. Calcutta : Columbian Press. B.E. 1278	ib.
Avakāśaranjini. Calcutta : Sanskrit Press, Samvat 1928	xxiii
Chārūgāthā. By Jaya Gopāl Gosvāmi, Pandita of Santipur School. Calcutta : Stanhope Press. B.E. 1278	xxiv
Gīta-Jaya-Jagadīsa-Kāvya. Canto I. By Madan Mohan Mitra. Calcutta : Dvaipāyana Press. B.E. 1278	ib.
Bhramavināsa. By Aghor Nāth Tatvanidhi. Burdwan : Sak. 1791	ib.
Meghanāda Samālochana. By Kālī Prasanna Rāya. Hūgli : Budhodaya Press. B.E. 1277	ib.

	PAGE.
Krishnārjūnīya. Part I. Translated by Krishnānanda Sārvabhauma. Berhampore : Satyaratna Press. B.E. 1278	xxv
Rādhikā-vilāpa. By Sarodā Prasāda Mukhopādhyāya. Calcutta : Sāhitya Press. B.E. 1278	ib.
Paramānu-Pratipādana. Tamoghra Press. B.E. 1278	ib.
Vahuvivāha. By Isvara Chandra Vidyāsāgara. Calcutta : Sanakrit Press. Samvat 1928	ib.

2. GENERAL LITERATURE :—

The Descent of Man —in connection with the hypothesis of Development.—A Lecture delivered at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, July 28, 1871, by John H. Pratt, M.A., F.R.S., Archdeacon of Calcutta	xxviii
Notes on Jerdon's Mammals of India. By an Indian Sportsman. Madras. 1871	xxxiv
Village-Communities in the East and West. Six lectures delivered at Oxford. By Henry Sumner Maine. London. 1871	xxxv
Sinfin ul Islām, a sketch of the history and literature of Muhammadanism, for the use of Maulawīs, Pt. I. —By Dr. G. W. Leitner. Lith. Lahore, 1871. Royal 8vo., with Index, 128 pages, and 4pp. preface, with several Lithographic sketches	xlii
A Text-Book of Indian History for the use of Colleges and Private Students. By the Rev. G. U. Pope, D.D., Principal of Bishop Cotton's Grammar School and College, Bangalore. London. 1871... ..	xlii
Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series ; East Indies, China, and Japan, 1617-1621. Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. Edited by W. Noel Sainsbury, Esq., of the Public Record Office, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. London. 1870	xlvi
The Indian Musalmāns : are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen ? By W. W. Hunter, LL.D., of Her Majesty's Bengal Civil Service ; one of the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Honorary Fellow of the Ethnological Socy., London, and of the Royal Institute of Netherlands' India at the Hague, etc. London. 1871	1

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.	lxi
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—◆—
No. CV.
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ART. I.—THE DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE, AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

Supplement to the Gazette of India, dated 21st January 1871.

A KNOWLEDGE of the past and present state of a country must always be of the first importance in the consideration of the measures calculated to ameliorate its condition. The records of India, ancient and mediæval, are full of mythic and civil details, but deficient in information as to the different branches of administration and their bearing on the social condition of the people. The historian has, therefore, to labour under serious disadvantages. In some cases his conclusions must be based on insufficient data, and in others be purely inferential. The history of no country shows that improvement in every respect has been progressive. The great difficulty lies in harmonising the conflicting interests and feelings of the governed, divided into classes and sections, and in bringing them within the focus of the general welfare. How far this was carried out under the administration of the native governments, is a problem which the state of our historical records renders somewhat difficult of solution.

Before offering observations on the subject of the despatches before us, however, we will endeavour to give a short sketch of the state of the country under the Hindu and Musalman systems of government in regard to Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce; the three things being linked together, inasmuch as the agricultural resources of a country cannot be developed if taxation operates as a bar to improvement, nor can commerce be expanded if agriculture be stinted and dwarfed.

The Hindu period may be divided into three epochs—the Vedic, the post-Vedic, and the Puranic. Punjab—the original seat of the Vedic Aryans—is represented as being partially cultivated, and prayers were offered to Agni to consume the woods that remained. The Rig Veda makes mention of villages, cities or fortified places, stone built cities, iron cities or fortifications, numerous Kings, various tribes divided into principalities, rulers of cities and rulers of villages, the manufacture of weapons of war, spears, swords and knives, the

construction of chariots, weaving, boat or ship building, cultivated and fertile lands, watercourses, kine, horses, elephants and various birds—all which, added to other facts bearing on the social state of the Hindus, are proofs, in the opinion of Mr. Muir, of “a considerable progress in civilization and in even a certain sort of refinement as then existing.” It appears that before ploughing the following prayer was offered:—

“May the heavens, the waters, the firmament, be kind to us ; may the lord of the field be gracious to us ; let us, undeterred (by foes), have recourse to him.”

“May the oxen (draw) happily, the men labour happily.....may the traces bind happily ; wield the goad happily.”

During the post-Vedic epoch, India consisted of a number of independent kingdoms. Megasthenes speaks of 120 nations. The Raja who distinguished himself for heroism and military exploits, claimed supremacy over all other Rajas, and if such supremacy was acknowledged, he was the Maharaja. Ayodhya (Oudh) was at one time the seat of royal supremacy, which Indraprastha afterwards claimed to be. It was then transferred to Magadha (Behar), and subsequently to other cities. Although the Rajas owed allegiance to the Maharaja, they were independent in the administration of their own kingdoms, the business of which was conducted by a certain number of ministers of the military class, of whom one was a Brahman whose duty it was to guide the Raja in matters connected with his moral duties. The Raja had to learn from the people “the theory of agriculture, commerce and the practical arts.” We suppose the object of this direction was that the Raja should be in constant contact with the people, learning and attending to their wants. Subsequently we read of the republic of Vasaha or Allahabad, and of the Kings of Guzerat, Cutch and Magadha being elected by the people. On the authority of the Rig Veda and Manavadharma, there were lords of one, ten, twenty, a hundred, and a thousand towns, who communicated with each other on matters connected with their internal administration. The land was held as the property of the clearer and tiller, and there was special legislation for the prevention of boundary disputes, trespass of cattle, and for the preservation of private rights, as well as for their sale and transfer, answering the purpose of registration. The taxes levied were as follows:—

(1.) On cattle, gems, gold and silver, added annually, one fiftieth part.

(2.) On grain, a sixth, an eighth, or a twelfth part, according to the differences of the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it.

(3.) On the annual increase of trees, flesh meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumery, medical substances, liquids, flowers, roots and fruits, a sixth part.

(4.) The tax on the mercantile class, which in times of prosperity must be a twelfth part of their crops and a fiftieth part of their personal property, might be an eighth of their crops in *time of distress* or a sixth or even a fourth in great public adversity, but a twentieth part of their gains in money and other moveables was the highest tax! Serving men, artisans and mechanics were to assist by their labour, but at no time paid taxes.

The Hindu land-tax, according to General Briggs, never exceeded one-sixth. He says "tradition even limits it to one-tenth; and experience shows us in Ceylon, Travancore and Cochin, and the little principality of Coorg, that one-tenth is still exacted by these Governments." We learn from the Greek writers that Porus levied one-fourth, but this is to be looked upon as the war tax sanctioned by Manu.

We have very little information as to how far the administration of the revenue department, more especially the realization of the revenue in kind, was attended with any difficulty or oppression of the people. But there is reason to believe that the settlement of account was between every village and the *deshadikar*.

In the beginning of the sixth century before Christ, Buddha divided the population into five classes, of which the artificers, mechanics and tradesmen were the third, and shepherds, herdsmen, &c., the fourth. About 270 B.C. the Greeks divided the Indian population into seven classes. Next to the sophist was the husbandman—"the most numerous in the Indian community." Arrian speaks of the moral excellences of the Indians and describes them as "good farmers." As to the proficiency of the natives in agriculture, the testimony of a late competent authority is flattering. Dr. Roxburgh says, "The Indians do not attempt to rear a second crop oftener than every third or fourth year, allowing the land either to rest or employing it for the growth of such plants as are found to improve the soil; of which the Indian farmer is a perfect judge."

Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta (Sandrocottus), is said to have had special officers to inquire into the condition of the people. We presume the land tax and other taxes could not have been oppressive or operated prejudicially to the agriculture and manufactures of the country, or agriculture would have declined, and commerce, which, as we shall show subsequently, was active, would not have expanded.

India has been known from time immemorial as an opulent country—

The gorgeous East with her richest hand
Showers on her Kings barbaric pearl and gold.

In the Ramayan the following description of the chief city of Ayodhya is given—"It was filled with merchants and artificers

of all kinds; gold and precious stones and jewels were found in abundance; every one wore costly garments, bracelets and necklaces." Colonel Tod is of opinion, that "Northern India was rich from the earliest times; that portion situated on either side of the Indus formed the richest satrapy of Darius." In several Hindu works, gold and silver are mentioned as being abundant everywhere. The European travellers who visited India at different times, bear testimony to its wealth, which Ferishta corroborates by putting us in possession of several important facts. According to him, Mahmud, on coming to the temple of Nagarcot, took possession of an immense treasure contained in it and collected since the days of Raja Bhima, *viz.*, 700,000 golden dinars, 700 maunds of gold and silver plate, 200 maunds of pure gold in ingots, 2,000 maunds of unwrought silver and twenty maunds of various jewels, including pearls, corals, diamonds and rubies." During Mahmud's twelfth expedition, when he came to Somnath, it was the "richest place of worship." It had a chain supporting a bell which the worshippers used to strike during prayer, weighing 200 maunds of gold, and when the image was broken, Mahmud took "a quantity of diamonds and other stones which had been concealed in it."

The Rig Veda makes mention of cotton; Manu of indigo; sugar and grain are spoken of in several works. These and many other articles required for economic purposes, must have been grown from the earliest times. The means of intercommunication were by land and sea. The Ramayan makes mention of the royal high road, and the Greek writers fix its course from Taxila on the Indus through Lahore along the Ganges to Palibothra. From a passage in the Ramayan, it is evident that "able carpenters, diggers, engineers, &c., kept the roads in repair;" and another passage speaks of "bridges being built, rocks broken through, canals and wells dug, and the roads being planted with flowers and trees." At a subsequent period when Asoka reigned in Magadha (Behar), he gave the following order found in an inscription of about 220 B.C., deciphered by James Prinsep—"And on the public highways wells are to be dug and trees to be planted for the accommodation of men and animals."* The ruins of Kandeish show "numerous stone embankments, by which the streams were rendered equal to anything in India as works of industry and utility." Both the Ramayan and the Mahabharat frequently describe the journeys of the Rajas from one part of the country to another. When Yudishthira performed the Rajsuya Yagna, his four brothers travelled to the four sides of India to exact allegiance from all the Rajas, and from the circumstantial account given of their journey in the Mahabharat, it is evident that "prior to the fifth century

* He built a grand bridge near works to be constructed. Gunan, and caused other splendid

before Christ, an active commerce was carried on between India and its neighbours, in which the former was supplied with precious metals, with gems, with aromatics and drugs, with manufactured skins, furs, brocades, woollen and silk cloths, with arms and armour, and various fabrics of iron, wood and ivory ; in return, no doubt, for its staples of rice, cotton, sugar, salt, and for those cotton manufactures, which, after a triumphant career of nearly three thousand years, have been in our day utterly annihilated by the power of steam.”*

Countries which were mountainous or where roads did not exist, were visited by caravan merchants. The earliest mention of this fact is to be found in the Mahabharat. Damayanti who had been left by her husband Nala in a jungle, joined a body of caravan merchants. Ctesias says, “The Indians who live near the Bactrians make expeditions into the gold desert in armed companies of two or three thousand men.” Bernier who visited India during the reign of Aurungzeb, and travelled as far as Kashmir, also notices the existence of caravans.

Now the question is, Was the commerce of India confined to itself, or was it external as well as internal ?

In the Rig Veda it is stated that “merchants desirous of gain crowd the great waters with their ships.” Manu legislates on the risk of safe carriage by land and sea and on freight up and down the rivers and at sea. The Ramayan also speaks of merchants, who “traffic beyond the sea and bring presents to the King.” Dr. Wilson observes that in “poems, tales and plays dating from the first century after our era, adventures at sea are detailed in which Indian sailors and ships are concerned.” Our readers have probably not forgotten Sindbad the Sailor—the hero of their boyish dreams. According to Heeren, who wrote after extensive reading and research, “India is one of the richest countries of the world in natural productions,” and “in the earlier ages a commercial intercourse existed between the countries of Southern Asia and Africa, between India and Arabia, Ethiopia, Lybia and Egypt, which was founded upon their mutual necessities and became the parent of the civilization of these people.”† Captain Wilford says, “During the first centuries of the Christian era, the Hindus were very fond of travelling. Their kings sent frequent embassies to the Greek and Roman Emperors, and some of these ambassadors went as far as Spain. Others visited Alexandria and Egypt, where Ptolemy in the third century saw them and conversed

* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. vii, 1867.

† Mrs. Manning states “that the products of India reached Greece in

the days of Homer. Babylon used to import precious stones, dogs, dyes, gold, and gold dust.”

with them. Some of these ambassadors had long conferences in Babylon." He also discovered that many Hindus were servants in Greece, many settled in Colchis, a large detachment followed Alexander to Persia; numbers were to be found in Arabia, and "there was a constant and reciprocal intercourse between the Greeks, Romans and Carthaginians for a period of 1,200 years at least."

An important work to which we are indebted for much information as to the state of commerce during the first or second century is the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea*, attributed to Arrian. The Hindu kings must have had their coins. Colonel Tod, speaking of Rama, Krishna, and Pandava, says "their cities and coins still exist." When the author of the *Periplus* came, the gold coin he found in circulation was the 'kaltris,' "which was exchanged with profit against Grecian and Roman money." He speaks of precious stones, chiefly diamonds and rubies, being brought to Nelkynda (north of Calicut), of onyx stone brought to Barygaza (Baroch) from the Ghat mountains, and of "finest Bengal muslins, of coarse, middle and fine cloths, either plain or striped; of coarse and fine calicoes; of coloured shawls and sashes; of coarse and fine purple goods as well as pieces of gold embroidery; of spun silk and furs from Seria" (China), as being in the Indian markets. The important ports mentioned by him are—Barygaza (Baroch on the north of Western India), Musiris (Mangalore), Nelkynda in the south, and Pattala (Hydrabad). The commercial towns mentioned are Marsalia (Masulipatam) distinguished for cotton piece goods, and Ganges on the mouth of the river of the same name, being a great market for betel, pearls, and the finest sorts of muslins. Silks were imported from the south-west of China, and there was a route between that country and India which Turner has verified as having passed through Ladak.

The *Periplus* mentions the commerce which existed between India and Chryse, comprising Ava, Pegu and Malacca, and also between India and Arabia, Egypt and Zaquebar. The author adds, "Moreover, indigenous productions, such as corn, rice, butter, oil of sesamum; coarse as well as fine cotton goods, and cave honey, are regularly exported from the interior of Ariaka (Concan) and from Barygaza to the opposite coast (Zaquebar)." Ceylon was almost a part of India, and well known to the Hindus since the memorable expedition of Rama so graphically described by Valmiki. The ruins of its former buildings and public works attest its former grandeur, and establish the fact of its early prosperity. It maintained an active trade not only with the Hindus but with several foreign nations. The articles exported were rice, honey, ginger, precious stones, gold, silver, cinnamon, elephants and tigers. Between the fourth and fifth centuries, Fa Hian, a Chinese traveller, visited India, and from an examination of the account of his travels Dr. Wilson observes: "It has been denied that the Hindus were ever navigators, net-

withstanding the proof afforded by the commerce of the Red Sea that ships must have come from the continent of India thither, and that they were freighted not only with the products of India but of the far East. Now in Fa Hian's voyage from Tamilito to Ceylon, we have no reason to suppose the infrequency of Hindu voyages by sea, or that the voyagers or mariners were other than natives of India. We find Brahmans in Java, and if Hindus did not go to sea, how could they get there? Here then we have Brahmans on board ship,—merchants trading to China.* Even so late as the sixth century, Hindu physicians used to visit and live at the Court of Bagdad to spread a knowledge of medicine and the cognate sciences. According to the Puranic accounts, the population of India in ancient times was immense. On this point Dr. Wilson states:—"There is reason to believe that in former times much of the country was exceedingly populous. Greek writers talk of a thousand cities in the Punjab alone, and remains of towns and vestiges of habitations are found in many parts of India now covered with jungle. There is no reason to believe that the population of India was always depressed, or that it was kept down by excess of exaction." From the enquiries already made and the remains found, there is a strong supposition that the Sunderbuns was at one time populated.

We have already referred to Fa Hian's travels in India in A.D. 399. There is a mass of valuable information in Colonel Sykes's notes on them, and the commentaries of Remusat, Klaproth, Burnouf and Landresse. Though Fa Hian's observations were directed chiefly to matters connected with Buddhism, yet we can glean much casual information bearing on the subject before us.

Arriving at Khotan, he describes it "as a flourishing and happy kingdom, the people living amidst great abundance." Of Central India, Oudh, Bahar, &c., he says, "The people live in abundance and happiness; registers of the inhabitants are unknown (there was not any capitation tax as in China), and neither magistrates nor laws trouble them. Those who cultivate, reap the produce." Of Furruckabad he says: "The people of the country are numerous and rich, and beyond comparison more happy than elsewhere." Of the kingdom of Central India he states: "The cities and towns are large, the people rich." When he visited Benares he found that it contained 10,000 houses, 100 temples containing 10,000 persons who worshipped the great God. Of Tamolite (Tumlook) he says that "it carried on a great trade both by sea and land." He ultimately went to Tchi-mo-lo (Cape Comorin), to which "great riches came by sea."

* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vols. v. and vi.

Hiouen-Thsang visited all the places visited by Fa Hian, and also many other parts of Hindustan. He says Kandeish abounded with foreign merchandise, and Surat was no doubt the port by which the rich merchandise was introduced into Kandeish and Malwa. With regard to Benares, he says, "The population of the city and suburbs is numerous." His notices of the different parts of India are meagre, but Dr. Wilson thinks the fact of his having experienced no impediment or ill usage "affords a remarkable proof of the civilized condition and orderly government of the countries." Apollonius of Tyana, who came here about the first half century of the Christian era, says very little. When he came to Taxila, he found the people wearing cotton and sandals made of the fibre of papyrus. He also noticed ostentatious pictorial illustrations of the valour of Porus. In a part of a country which was fifteen days' journey from the Ganges, he found the soil black and very productive; wheat stalks like reeds, beans three times as large as the Egyptian, sesamum and millet "extraordinarily fine."

The first Muhammadan invasion of India took place in 664 A.D. The gradual extension of Muhammadan conquest and aggrandisement involved the country in constant wars. It is not at all improbable that the Hindu Rajas levied one-fourth of the crop while they fought with the Muhammadans. The Muhammadans, without disturbing the constitution of the village corporations, began to assess whole districts "at a certain sum" through the *deshadikars*, the heads of districts, whom they afterwards called *zemindars*. Alla-ud-din, who reigned from 1294 to 1315 A.D., took one-fourth of the produce. Sikandar Lody and Sher Shah Súr paid some attention to the revenue management of the country, and the latter took one-fourth of the produce, or the money value thereof at the market rate. From 1351 to 1394 the condition of the people, according to the historian Feroze Shah, was prosperous; and he states that "every ryot had a bedstead and a neat garden." The great financial reform was, however, inaugurated by Akbar, whose reign commenced in 1556 A.D. Abul Fazl, the well-known minister of Akbar, says:—"In former times, the monarchs or Rajas of Hindustan only exacted one-sixth of the produce from the cultivator. In after times Nowsherwan is said to have raised the land-tax to one-third of the produce." Akbar proceeded by settling the length of the standard chain and the dimensions of a biggah. He had the different lands classified with reference to the time required to keep them fallow, their productive powers and their uncultivated state. The revenue thus fixed—being one-third of the crop raised by each cultivator—was payable in kind or commutable into a money payment. The duties on home manufactures were reduced from ten to five per cent *ad valorem*, and several taxes were abolished which had proved to be obnoxious.

Akbar found that his financial policy was attended with great difficulty, as it was not easy to procure the "current prices of grain from all parts of the kingdom." He therefore considered it better to assess whole villages, leaving to the villagers to determine what each should pay. This policy was open to abuse, but it was also calculated to sow the seeds of self-government. It is said to have worked satisfactorily, and was followed by his son Jahangir and his grandson Shahjahan ; but Aurungzeb became rapacious and claimed an equal division of the crops with every cultivator. Mr. Shore in his celebrated minute of June 1789 says :—"The principles of Mogul taxation, as far as we can collect them from the institutes of Timur and Akbar, from the ordinances of the Emperors and their delegates, however limited in practice, were calculated to give the sovereign a proportion of the advantages arising from extended cultivation and increased population." The Mogul emperors claimed the right of "taxing improvement in proportion to its advance," but from the time of Akbar to that of Farukshir "this right was exercised with moderation."

It appears from the institutes of Timur that there was accommodation for travellers on the high roads, and bridges across the rivers. He held out encouragement to travellers and voyagers from all countries with the view of receiving information from them on commercial subjects, and he appointed merchants and chiefs of caravans to visit China, Egypt, Arabia, Europe, &c., and bring articles from those countries, as well as to submit information connected with the state of their commerce. As to the promotion of agriculture, one of his ministers had orders to keep his eye "on the cultivation and population of the country and prosperity of the subjects." It was also his duty to report to the king "the state and situation of the husbandman, of the produce and duties received, of the deficiencies in the various provinces, of the merchandize brought in and sent out of the land." The next monarch from whose institutes we obtain more copious information, is Akbar. He laid so great stress on agriculture that he made it and economics a part of the curriculum of instruction imparted in the public schools. His Amulguzgar, or Collector of Revenue, was charged with the duty of the agricultural department. He had to ascertain the land in cultivation, make trial of its different soils, reclaim waste lands, see that the arable lands were not neglected, and promote the cultivation of such articles as were attended "with profit and utility." The agricultural statistics collected for several years show the different crops which were raised in different parts of the country, and the quantity which each biggah yielded, enabling the statistician to compare and judge as to the retrogression or progression in the yield. Akbar's empire consisted of twelve divisions, in most of which agriculture is said to have

been carried to a high degree of perfection. He was also a great friend to commerce. He encouraged the construction of boats and ships for inland navigation and voyages at sea, and patronized mariners. Jahangir, like his father Akbar, encouraged merchants. He gave strict orders to the police not to molest travellers with any exactions. He mentions that when he visited Ahmedabad, he found that it contained 5,000 bankers.

The other Musalman kings deserving of notice, as having promoted agriculture and commerce, are :—(1) Mahomed Toghlukh, 1325 A.D., whose public works were fifty dams across rivers to promote irrigation and one hundred and fifty bridges ; (2) Shere Shah, 1540 A.D., to whom the country is indebted for a high road from Bengal to Rohtas "with caravansarais at every stage and wells at every mile and a half."

Hamilton, who came here between 1688 and 1723, notices several places of commercial importance on the western side of India. The places mentioned by him are Tatta, Mangaroul, Guzerat, (which in the 16th century was very prosperous), Baroch, Surat, &c. Bernier states that many parts of India were abundantly populated, the land well tilled, and the artizan classes manufacturing carpets, brocades, silk, cotton goods, embroideries, gold and silk, for home consumption or export. We have no means of ascertaining to what extent wealth was in the possession of the middle and lower orders of the people ; but if agriculture, manufactures and commerce continued to flourish, the material condition of a large portion of the population must have been improved. There can be little doubt that most of the Muhammadan Emperors kept their treasury full. So late as the 18th century, when Nadir Shah invaded Delhi, he took eight or nine millions sterling, besides several millions in gold and silver plate and other valuable articles. The Muhammadan Emperors used silver as a circulating medium, and gold and copper were allowed to sell at the market value. The only instance of the introduction of paper money we can find, was in the time of Ghiyas-ud-din Toghlukh who reigned in 1321 A.D. Having heard of the paper money in China, and finding his own treasury empty, he introduced paper money as a substitute for copper in his dominions, but the foreign merchants did not countenance it, and trade was paralysed.

During the interval of 140 years between the time of Todar Mall, in 1582, and that of Jaffar Khan *alias* Murshed Kuli Khan, the revenue of Bengal rose to a figure exhibiting an increase of 24 lakhs, and this increase is attributed to an augmentation in the influx of specie, the expansion of commerce, and its healthy influence on agriculture. In 1618 Ibrahim Khan was the Governor of Bengal. Stewart says, "agriculture and commerce were encouraged, and the manufactures were carried to a degree of

perfection they had never before attained." Bernier, who came to Bengal while Aurungzeb was Emperor, expresses his opinion as to the commercial position of Bengal to the following effect:—"The large kingdom of Bengal surpasses Egypt itself not only in the production of rice, corn and other necessities of life, but of more innumerable articles of commerce which are not cultivated in Egypt; such as silk, cotton and indigo." But as to the treatment of the agricultural and artizan classes, his testimony is very unfavourable. "The tunriots, governors or farmers have an authority almost absolute over the peasantry, and nearly as much over the artizans and merchants of the towns and villages within their district, and nothing can be more cruel or oppressive, than the manner in which it is exercised." We are not at all surprised at this account, as in a country where the government is despotic and is in no way controlled, the welfare of the people must depend entirely on accident. It was not often that an Emperor like Akbar sat on the throne of Hindustan.

Murshed Kuli Khan was a tyrant, but he encouraged foreign trade. He kept a sharp eye on the supply of grain, and did not allow it to be exported. Rice, notwithstanding, sold at Rs. 4 a maund, which is a clear proof that Bengal then did not grow so much rice as it now does. During the reign of Furrukhshir, in 1713, the seat of government was removed from Delhi to Jahangir-nuggur, in Dacca. Hamilton speaks of Dacca as the largest district in Bengal, and its cotton and silk manufactures are said to have been the "best." The commerce of Dacca during the reigns of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurungzeb was in a flourishing state. The principal occupation of the Hindu population was to grow cotton, and spin, bleach and weave muslins. The muslins of Dacca and the silks of Malda were specially patronized by the imperial court, and the artizans met with marked encouragement at the hand of Nur Jahan, who was the Queen of Fashion of the day, and introduced from time to time changes in the dresses of her sex. From the seventeenth century the export of Dacca muslins commenced. In 1734 the district was under the able management of Jeswant Ray, who considerably improved its agricultural and commercial state. In 1783 the whole trade of Dacca was estimated at $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. There are three causes which are said to have exercised a prejudicial influence on the commerce of Bengal:—(1) the discovery of America; (2) the discovery of the passage round the Cape; (3) the dissolution of the empire of Bejapoor.* The whole commerce of Bengal was valued at $6\frac{1}{2}$ crores, viz., articles of necessity, 2 crores;

* See an account of this great city of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch*

of second requirement, 1 crore and 20 lakhs ; and articles of luxury 3 crores and 30 lakhs. The gross produce of the whole land was estimated at 24 crores, and the agricultural expenses at not less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ crore. The capital employed in the manufacture of silk was under 10 lakhs, and in that of cotton about 12 lakhs.

The first factory of the East India Company was in Surat. In 1624, they obtained a *firman* from the Moghul Emperor permitting them to trade with Bengal, but restricting them in the first instance to Pipli in Midnapur. The operations of the Company did not, however, commence till 1642, when they established a factory at Balasore. The Company, having thus obtained their footing, managed to get their privileges and possessions gradually extended, till their dominions, thus acquired, were consolidated into the Empire which has since been made over to the Queen's government.

Soon after the acquisition of the *Dewany*, the Company directed their attention to the culture and manufacture of raw silk, cotton, and indigo. The principal places where silk was produced, were Kassimbazar, Kommerkally and Rungpore. The Court of Directors suggested that the country to the east of the Pudma would be the best place for this trade, as it would be free from the incursion of the Mahrattas or other inimical powers, and the local government adopted this suggestion. The first silks sent to England were in 1771, and they were admired. In 1788, the Court sent an order for 50,000 lbs. of the best Baroch and Surat cotton. But as this quantity was not available, the attention of the authorities was directed to the production of cotton in India on a larger scale, to which every encouragement was held out. The Court of Directors, finding that indigo grown in India was of a quality "surpassing that of any other country," made arrangements with private individuals in Bengal to secure supplies of the article from 1779-80 ; but it does not appear that the Company was ever directly engaged in the cultivation and manufacture of indigo. In 1791 Lieut. John Paterson brought Bengal sugar to the notice of the authorities in England, and while it was receiving their attention, the *Houghton* arrived, carrying the first shipment of the Indian Government, consisting of five tons, in execution of an order from the Court sent on the 8th April 1789, and this sugar sold on the average at 92s. per cwt. The article thus began to attract the serious attention of the Court, and of the Government here, which, in those times, was mainly commercial. In Beerbhoom there were three head and twelve subordinate factories. Silks, cotton cloths, fibres, gums and lac-dye constituted the operations of the Beerbhoom factories. Many a place round the Adjai and Moré exhibited the bustle of activity in agriculture and manufactures, which led to the formation of entire weaving villages. The amount annually laid out was from £45,000 to £65,000.

In 1772 the condition of the agricultural class was, however, wretched. Warren Hastings in his letter of that year describes them as "oppressed, discouraged and disabled from improving the culture of their lands." Though various plans of revenue had been proposed and considered, the great financial change dates from the administration of Lord Cornwallis, who was anxious to limit the demand of the Government in perpetuity with a view to encourage and extend agriculture in Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Benares. But while we give him credit for the purest of motives, and are in no way desirous to disturb the permanent settlement—the violation of which would destroy the moral *prestige* of the British Government,—we have no doubt that in many cases the settlement was made on erroneous data and not with the right persons. It is open to question, however, whether the sacrifice of justice and equity, made in some cases from want of due investigation, and in other instances through the corrupt influence of ministerial officers, has not been counter-balanced by the benefits resulting from that settlement.* In the North-Western Provinces great care is taken in the collection of statistics, and the settlement is made for thirty years. In most of the provinces of Madras the settlement is ryotwarry, *i.e.*, the Government deals direct with the proprietary cultivators. In the Northern Sircars and some other parts the settlement is permanent. In Bombay the ryotwarry system, in a great measure, prevails. The survey and mapping of the Bombay presidency commenced about twenty years ago, and has been completed. The settlement made with the ryots is open to revision after thirty years. In the Punjab a settlement similar to that of the North-Western Provinces has been made.†

In 1807 the Court of Directors called for a statistical report on the Eastern territories of British India. Dr. Buchanan visited Behar, Patna, Shahabad, Dinapur, Goruckpur, Purneah, Rungpur, and Assam. The information collected by him as to the state of agriculture, along with other matters, was afterwards published by P. M. Martin under the designation of "Eastern India in 1838." Although there may be changes in the statistics, and in matters bearing on the social condition of the people, yet the work will serve as a good basis for future enquiry. Statistical reports on other parts of India have been made from time to time. The more important Government measures deserving of prominent notice are the agricultural exhibitions in Calcutta and other districts, and the liberal premia offered for the best machines

* It is supposed that "the present land revenue does not exceed one-third or one-fourth of the rental." *Quarterly Review*, January 1871.

† The *Quarterly Review* for Janu-

ary 1871 states "On the whole we may assume that, speaking roughly, the British Government now receives as revenue about one-half the rental of its whole Indian territories."

for cleaning cotton and rhea fibre. But probably the country is still more indebted to the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India established in Calcutta in 1820, and to those who have aided it with the valuable and practical information embodied in its Transactions and Journal.

The question of imparting agricultural education to the people, and of establishing a chair of agriculture in the Government colleges, has been discussed more than once, but has led to no practical result. In March 1867, Mr. John Stalkartt addressed a letter to the Government of Bengal, containing suggestions for the promotion of agriculture in Bengal. This communication was referred by the Government to the Agri-Horticultural Society of India, by which it was referred to a special committee consisting of Messrs. S. H. Robinson, John Stalkartt, Joykissen Mookerjee, Ramanath Tagore, Hurochunder Ghose and Peary Chand Mittra, who reported that "it was most desirable that agricultural knowledge should be diffused both by lectures in colleges and schools, and by practical instruction to the peasantry on the field, by the establishment of model farms in the sudder stations of the districts where Colleges exist, and by drawing the attention of the Superintendents of the model farms to certain points which were mentioned."*

The great impetus and expansion which the agriculture of India has received is from two wars, which, like all dispensations of Providence, appear as immediate visitations, but, bearing the reflex of the Giver of all good, develop themselves into permanent blessings in ways passing our knowledge. In 1835 or 1836 Mr. Hodgkinson made the first shipment of linseed to England as an experiment. The Crimean war commenced in 1854. The following comparative statistics of the exports of seeds and jute, before and during the war, will show the increase :—

* These points were :—

1. The cultivation of lands by improved methods of ploughing in various ways, according to the nature of the soil.

2. Drainage and sub-soil drainage.

3. The placing apart some portion of the land for green crops, such as guinea-grass, sugar-cane, sorgho, jannira, bajra, &c., for the feeding of cattle so as to obtain manure.

4. Economizing the natural manures of the country—the sun and rain, paying the cattle-sheds with tiles so as to collect liquid manure, and conserving the solid manure so that it be neither burnt nor wasted.

5. Paying attention to obtaining

superior seed by picking out only the large grain, by changing the seed if only from a distance of 20 miles, selecting new varieties, and even by growing crops only for the sake of seed, with manure, for the purpose of distributing it to the cultivators.

6. Establishment of dairies both with respect to butter and cheese.

7. Careful attention to artificial manures, so that knowledge may be obtained of what to apply to each description of crops that may be grown, with a view to increase the quality, quantity and weight of the produce.

	1853-54		1854-55	
	Mds.	Value Rs.	Mds.	Value Rs.
Linseed ...	982,394	1,964,916	2,435,421	4,870,835
Mustard seed ...	202,024	405,203	515,550	1,030,905
Teel seed ...	5,544	11,087	23,223	46,447
Jute ...	660,551	1,557,158	900,006	2,277,211

We believe Mr. Joseph Willis was the first who shipped, in 1808, sixty bales of jute to England under the name of *kôshid*, the native name in the eastern districts. Jute must have been taken from the word *jhute*, the native name for *chusum*. There is no other country in the world where jute is grown. In America an attempt is being made to grow it, and time will show how far it will succeed. Although the quality of the Bengal jute is not as superior as it was formerly, yet the demand is increasing. During the present year the export is expected to reach 1,000,000 bales. Flax and hemp do not answer all the purposes of jute, but the stalk of cotton might be manufactured into an inferior jute. Rhea might also answer, but it cannot be expected to compete with jute in cheapness.

The Journal of the Society of Arts informs us that :—

‘By far the most remarkable feature of Calcutta trade is that in jute the trade has set in almost entirely to Dundee, where alone the manufacture of jute seems to have taken root. Previous to 1866, the supplies were sent almost exclusively to London and Liverpool. Now the shipments are made direct to Dundee. In 1866 the shipments direct to Dundee, in 300lbs. bales, were 38,922 in 1867 ; 70,287 in 1868 ; 142,134 in 1869 ; 180,002 in 1870 ; to date 192,769, but, as 18 large vessels are loading, this year will close with something over 300,000, and the season (end of July) with perhaps 400,000 bales, representing in round figures, a million sterling, or close on half both the value and out-turn of the season's crop. It is not to be wondered at that in such a position, Dundee actually at this time rules the Calcutta market, on which a very few years ago it had no perceptible influence, when indeed London and Liverpool struck the key-note.’

The average prices of the seeds *before* and *during* the war, and their present prices, are as follow :—

	Before war.		During war.		Present price.	
Linseed ...	2	6 @ 2 11	2	10 @ 3 15	4	1 @ 4 5 per md.
Mustard seed ...	2	0 @ 2 5	2	6 @ 3 0	3	8 @ 3 14 ”
Rape seed ...	0	0 @ 0 0	3	1 @ 3 7	3	12 @ 4 8
Poppy seed ...	2	6 @ 0 0	2	8 @ 3 5	4	3 @ 4 4

In 1870 the export of all kinds of seeds was larger than in any of the nine previous years. The price of jute before the Crimean war was Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2-4-0, and the present prices are Rs. 4-8-0 to Rs. 6-8-0 per maund.

The Crimean war was instrumental in the extended cultivation of

seeds and jute; the American war in 1861-62 exercised a similarly magic influence on the people of India. Throughout the whole length and breadth of this vast empire nothing was thought of, talked of, or dreamt of, but cotton. It was confidently expected that the war would be interminable—that either the North or the South would be thrown back, and that cotton would, for years to come, disappear from the American ports as an exportable article. The natives, especially of Bombay, and some Europeans shared in this anticipation and excitement, and to numerous minds the mere mention of cotton opened a vista of endless mines teeming with inexhaustible wealth. What the American war did, could not have been done by the Manchester Association with ship-loads of cotton seed, and heaps of reports and tracts on the utility of cotton cultivation, gratuitously distributed. In 1860-61 the export of cotton from Calcutta was 56,444 maunds, of the value of Rs. 6,73,268. In 1861-62 it rose to 75,040 maunds, valued at Rs. 1,131,249. The largest export since was in 1865, when it amounted to 411,180 bales; in 1870 it came down to 157,611 bales.

Before the American war we had scarcely any quotation for Bengal cotton in the London Market. Indian cotton was chiefly exported to China. In December 1861, the English prices were for Surats $5\frac{1}{2}d$ and for Bengals about $4d$ to $4\frac{1}{2}d$. The average price of Bengal cotton for the five years which preceded the war may be taken at $3d$ to $3\frac{1}{2}d$ per lb. In 1863, it rose to $20\frac{1}{2}d$. In 1864, after the conclusion of the war, it came down to $8d$, and in 1865 to $5d$. From that year to 1869, the market has been subject to constant fluctuations, the highest point being $13\frac{1}{2}d$ and the lowest $5d$. The prices of Bengal cotton here before the war were Rs. 11 to 13 per maund. They fluctuated during the war between Rs. 16 and Rs. 45 per maund. The cotton excitement has now subsided; the rage of speculation is on the wane, and the export from India will again depend on the supply from America, which is fast recovering its lost position; still, on the whole, the agricultural population of this country have undoubtedly benefited by the extended cultivation of cotton, and prices even now are higher than they were before the war—Bengals being worth Rs. 15 per maund.

Since the occurrence of the last famine in Bengal and Orissa, the necessity of having a separate department of agriculture has been felt by every one interested in the improvement of the country. We believe that Mr. Blechynden, the well-informed and indefatigable Secretary of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, was the first person to urge the necessity of this department upon certain influential officials. His exertions, however, led to no result. We are mainly indebted to the Manchester Association and the representations which it has made, for the new project which is sketched in the despatches under review.

In 1793 a Board of Agriculture was established in England through the instrumentality of Sir John Sinclair, and was chartered by George III. In 1817 the annual grant was withdrawn, and agriculture in its different branches has since been promoted by various societies. In 1840 Dr. Royle speaks favourably of the agriculture and horticulture of Great Britain. James Caird, who wrote in 1850-51, says, "At no former period has the general progress of agriculture been greater than at present." The case of England in this matter, however, ought not to be applied to India. The people, climate, constitution of government and society are different. Let us see what arrangements are made in other countries. In Austria one of the branches of the executive administration is the ministry of commerce and agriculture. In Hungary Proper, there is a department of agricultural industry and commerce, separate from the Department of Public Works. In Prussia, the council of ministers is divided into ten departments, of which one is the ministry of agriculture. In France, one of the eleven ministerial departments before the late war was the ministry of agriculture, commerce and public works. In Italy, there are nine departments, of which the ministry of commerce, industry and agriculture is one. In Turkey, one department of the Divan or Ministerial Council is the ministry of agriculture and public works. In Canada and British North America the Cabinet is composed of twelve members, of whom one is a minister of agriculture; and in the United States there is a department of agriculture in charge of a Commissioner who submits annual reports.

The annual consumption of cotton appears to be as follows:—

	1869.	1870.
England	2,674,072 bales.	2,816,000 bales of 400lbs.
Continent	1,794,000 "	1,944,000
U. S., America	871,114 "	941,000
	<hr/> 5,339,187	<hr/> 6,701,000

The supply from India in 1860 was 51,100, and in 1870 was estimated at 1,200,000 bales.

In their memorial dated 12th March 1869, the Cotton Supply Association assert,—“There appears to be little probability that the production of cotton in America will, for many years to come, be adequate to the requirements of this and other countries.” The vaticination has not been verified by statistics subsequently collected. The *Cotton Supply Reporter* for February 1871 states “that the receipts at the American ports continue large and are well sustained; they amount since the 7th September to about 2,200,000 bales.” Relying, however, on the apprehended paucity of the supply, and with a view to improve the quality of the article,

the Association submitted to the Secretary of State several suggestions, and, amongst others, a proposal to establish a department of agriculture in each Presidency, to which Collectors and Cotton Commissioners should make reports, which reports should be published from time to time. The Secretary of State refers the correspondence to the Government of India on the 12th October 1869. In reply the Government of India transmit a despatch on the 6th April 1870, in which they make the admission "that Indian agriculture is in a primitive and backward condition," and they think "it must be admitted that the Government has not done for its improvement all that it might have done." The Government of India then candidly endorse the opinion of Dr. Mouat that "no single advantage that could be afforded to the vast rural population of India would equal the introduction of an improved system of agriculture." They confess that little or nothing has been done to promote agricultural instruction since those words were written fifteen years ago. They urge "the difficulty of affording to Indian landlords and cultivators the means of obtaining scientific and practical knowledge" on this subject. "But," they go on to observe, "the difficulty of the work ought not to discourage the Government from doing everything in its power to develop this important branch of education." After the expression of this opinion, we confess we are at a loss to understand why the recommendations contained in the report of the special Committee of the Agri-Horticultural Society of India already referred to, were not carried out by the Government with such modifications as might have been deemed necessary. The official declaration now of the importance which the Government attach to the improvement of agriculture is not consistent with their rejection of the very practical suggestions that were made at that time.

This important question has in fact been long under the consideration of the public, though we have to thank the Cotton Supply Association for the life which has lately been imparted to it. Supporting the proposition for the establishment of a department of agriculture on the strength of precedents in "almost all civilized countries," the Government of India suggest that the proposed department should have cognizance of the following matters:—(1) All matters affecting the practical improvement and development of the agricultural resources of the country. (2) The periodical collection and publication of agricultural statistics. (3) The land revenue, settlements, surveys, &c., and the laws and customs affecting agricultural industry. (4) The administration of the forests. (5) Commerce, including questions of commercial taxation. (6) Statistics of trade, internal and external. (7) The development of growing branches of mineral industry. (8) The law of patents. (9)

The mineral resources of the country. (10) Census and emigration, and all kindred subjects. (11) The promotion of industrial education by the preparation of popular treatises in the languages of the country.

As to the constitution of the departments of agriculture and commerce, the Government of India think that they should be placed under a common head, and that it may hereafter be desirable to constitute for this purpose an entirely separate department with a separate Secretariat. But for the present the Government of India suggest that the proposed department should be constituted as a branch of the Home Office, and be placed under the supervision of a specially qualified person, to receive Rs. 3,500 a month. His duties would embrace all matters connected with the administration of the land revenue, salt and opium, with the development of all branches of the material resources of the country and with statistics of every description. The Government of India lastly state that they hope to "be able to meet the necessary charges on this account without addition to the expenditure incurred at the present time."

The Secretary of State on the 22nd September 1870 replies to the following effect, *viz.*, that the suggestion of the Government of India is no more than the revival of the old system; that the Government has a direct and immediate interest in the improvement of agriculture except in permanently-settled provinces; that, so far from entertaining the opinion that agriculture should be left to private enterprise and private interests, the Government, at great expense, has been instrumental in the introduction and improvement of many new products, which are specified.* As to the constitution of the department, the Secretary of State is of opinion that it should include revenue, forest, opium, salt, but not the law of patents or questions relating to the census and emigration; and that abkari, stamps, and income-tax might either be left with the finance department or be transferred to the control of the proposed department. The Secretary of State then makes some general remarks on the constitution and administration of the department, and concludes by adding that he approves of the consolidation of all matters affecting revenue, agriculture and commerce, on the basis, though not in the precise form, of the proposal submitted by the Government of India.

Such is the outline of this great reform, so far as can be gathered from the papers which have been published on the subject. The new department in the form in which it is proposed to constitute

* Cotton, Tea, Coffee, Sugar, Spices, Linseed, Cinchona, Saltpetre, Soda, Oil Seeds, Jute, Rhea and other fibres, Iron, Coal, Teak, and other forest pro-

ducts, and Silk. Agricultural Exhibitions are also mentioned as a new branch of industry.

it, will have duties so diversified and multifarious, that we feel certain its administration cannot be attended with satisfactory results. One great cause of mal-administration in this country is the union of several offices, whether cognate or otherwise, in single individuals entrusted with extensive territorial jurisdictions. The consequence is that the incumbents are physically and intellectually unable to perform the functions they are called upon to discharge. The country has suffered greatly from the want of more thorough supervision and control, by which injustice and grievous wrong is often caused to the people at large. The Government of India does not appear to have profited by the experience of the past, nor has it formed a proper estimate of the duties to be performed by the proposed department, although it is pleased to observe that, "of all branches of Indian industry, agriculture which constitutes the occupation of the great mass of the people, is by far the most important. We believe it to be susceptible of almost indefinite improvement." If the department is to be constituted merely as a sop to the Manchester Association, and if its duty is merely to watch and aid the progress of cotton cultivation, its attention being directed to other articles as may be found convenient, we should have very little to say. But we should be sorry to believe that the Government of India was knowingly lending itself to promote a sham, or that it would allow itself to be influenced by mere selfish considerations or exclusive views in the organization of a department entrusted with the duty of promoting agriculture, which, to quote again, the words of the Government itself, is "by far the most important of all branches of Indian industry" and "susceptible of almost indefinite improvement."

The Manchester Association, however, like the Old Man of the Sea, has been riding on the shoulders of the Home Government. Well has King Cotton asserted his power and supremacy! Up to 1857, the amount spent on experimental measures is no less than £187,000 and the aggregate amount of salaries paid to officers on this account is not under £20,000 per annum. We now hear that six more qualified gardeners are being sent from Kew "to take charge of additional experiments for the improvement of cotton cultivation in India." We rejoice that India is now growing more cotton than it did before. We feel thankful to the Manchester Association for its continued agitation, and for the impetus which cotton culture in this country has received from that body. But to the Government we must submit that, however desirable it may be to extend and improve cotton cultivation, we do not hold India merely to grow cotton, nor are the interests of this country to be postponed to those of Manchester. There is nothing exceptional in cotton which can entitle it to continued favourable consideration at the hands of the Government, to the neglect

of other articles, and the discovery and utilization of other branches of industry equally if not more remunerative to the cultivator and manufacturer as well as to the Government. Lord Auckland in his celebrated minute on cotton says, "that the experiments in the improvement of cultivation should be chiefly by instruction and assistance to a select number of cultivators, instead of any attempts to cultivate by Government agents, although a limited extent of Government cultivation may perhaps be found unavoidable, with a view to the rearing of produce from foreign seed, to which the ryots may be unaccustomed and the risk of which they may be unwilling to incur." Cotton has not only had the benefit of European skill and experience, but has been under the fostering care of special officers, employed specially to extend its cultivation and improve its quality. The country, we admit, has benefited, but cotton alone does not constitute the warp and woof of Indian agriculture. There are many other important branches capable of improvement. In the despatch under notice the Government of India says:—"The cereals of this country demand similar attention. Rice, wheat and other grain are frequently of an inferior description, and by the careful introduction and continued use of selected seed of a superior character, great improvements might unquestionably be made. The same may be said of all oil seeds, the pulses and other products." This is fully supported by the results of experiments made at the model farm of Sydapet at Madras.

It seems to us, indeed, that the new department is required as much to preserve the interests of the country from the pressure which the Lancashire cotton-spinners bring to bear upon the Secretary of State, as to promote the cultivation of those staples which are of such importance to our English merchants and manufacturers. The work of the department must be to aid the development of all our internal resources, and not merely of particular products which happen to be used in the industry of a country thousands of miles away. We have already noticed the extent to which the demand for Indian cotton has fallen off since the conclusion of peace in America. That avenue to wealth is now being rapidly closed again, and it is perhaps so far fortunate that the Government did not press the cultivation beyond the bounds of moderation. The Manchester cotton-spinners, again, have brought their influence to bear upon the Home Government, so as to obtain exceptionally favourable rates of import duty upon their manufactured piece goods. From time to time an attempt is made to get the duty upon these goods abolished altogether; and just as in regard to the cultivation of cotton, the distress of the Lancashire operatives and the permanent welfare of India were put forward as the disinterested and benevolent motives by

which they were influenced ; so now the Government is urged to cheapen piece goods and salt and other things which the people of India largely consume, under the pretence of conferring a vast benefit upon the country, but really because these things constitute very profitable articles of Lancashire trade. But perhaps a department such as is now in contemplation, might feel bound to consider whether such a policy as our commercial friends in England would have us pursue, is really the best suited for India,—that is to say, whether it is so very desirable after all that India should be dependent upon England for very necessities, like cotton goods and salt. The cotton manufactures of India have been well-nigh ruined by competition with the West, and it is a question whether something should not now be done to prevent their utter annihilation. Of course it suits the people of England very well that this country should be held as a mere farm on which to grow produce for export to Europe, but it may be doubted whether any real progress in wealth and civilization will be made until some attempt has been made to develop our home manufactures. It is quite possible that in the event of war our English supplies of piece-goods and salt might fall short ; Calcutta and Bombay might be blockaded, and our Government would then begin to regret that greater exertions had not been made to render the country more independent of foreign supplies. In this way it may confidently be expected that a Department of Agriculture and Commerce would afford a valuable counterpoise to the representations of Manchester in regard to questions of taxation in this country.

If the functions of the proposed department be to promote, generally, agriculture which is “susceptible of almost indefinite improvement,” it may be *penny wise*, but it is certainly *pound foolish*, to cripple and dwarf the efficiency of the department by entailing on it an avalanche of work under the weight of which it is sure to sink. We would strongly press this point upon the consideration of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, as we lay great stress on the constitution of the department, which, we submit, should be a Department of Agriculture and Commerce only, consisting of two persons, one possessing an intimate practical acquaintance with agriculture, and the other mercantile education and experience. The selection ought not to be limited to any particular class. We should like to see the right man in the right place. The idea of making the department a branch of the Home Office ought not to be tolerated, as being likely to compromise the independence and efficiency of the department. The interference of the Secretary to the Home Office, who must be a member of the Civil Service, and as such not generally possessing a special knowledge

of agriculture and commerce, will probably do more harm than good, as he must be, from his want of practical acquaintance with the various subjects that come before him, incompetent to grapple with them ; nor can he judge of the range and nature of the enquiries to be made, and whether such enquiries embrace all the information required in each case.

We will now proceed to state a few matters which should receive the constant attention of the department.

The periodical collection and publication of agricultural statistics is very necessary and has been judiciously proposed by the Government of India. But how is this to be done ? At present the preparation of the prices of food articles in the different districts is left to the Commissioners. The Commissioners leave it to the Collectors, the Collectors to their Nazirs, and the Nazirs very likely to their cooks. The cooks—true to their name—cook the returns in the way most convenient to them. This is no doubt a very economical mode of collecting statistics,—“without addition to the expenditure incurred up to the present time.” But is the information thus obtained worth having ? There have been so many taxes—imperial, local and municipal ; and so many projects of taxation are on the anvils of the Imperial and Bengal Councils, that the least enquiry as to statistics of any kind is received with alarm and distrust. It is, therefore, necessary that we should have an intelligent native agency capable of mixing with the people, and eliciting from them the required information for the preparation and submission of statistical returns. We thought that the cooking of returns was confined to Bengal. We now find that the epidemic is also raging in the North-Western Provinces. In confirmation of this statement we subjoin an extract from Mr. H. Clarton's Cotton Circular of 28th March 1870 :—

‘The small quantity of cotton arriving at market in December last after the very encouraging reports as to the fertility of the crop circulated some two months previously, led me to make special enquiries as to the extent of the crop ; and the replies, though somewhat conflicting, resulted in my estimating the crop at three quarters of the previous year. This result was placed before my constituents in Circular No. 46, dated 3rd January 1870. At the same time the Board of Revenue of the North-Western Provinces issued a report showing the area under cotton cultivation to be 11,18,559 acres, an increase of 2,53,276 on the previous year, while their estimate of the out-turn was 9,66,915 maunds, almost double the quantity of the previous year ; while they remarked :—“The successful prospect of the crops are everywhere reported to be most promising, and there is apparently no question that the yield will be singularly good compared with that of the last year ; in fact, Messrs. Feilmann and Co. think that they will not be far wrong in predicting a crop of double the magnitude of that of last season.”

'This sanguine estimate of a double crop being given by Government officials specially deputed to make enquiries, was, of course, looked on by my constituents as being more reliable, and they advised their correspondents at home in accordance. So far, however, the estimate which I placed before my constituents of a three quarters crop is borne out by the statistics of the trade as under. Arrivals to date, 57,246 bales against 98,283 bales for the same period last year—decrease 41,037 bales. Exports to date, 42,542 bales against 71,017 bales for the same period last year—decrease 29,259 bales.'

The *Indian Economist* of July 1870 questions the correctness of the grain returns contained in the Administration Report of the North-Western Provinces for 1868-69.

The functions of the proposed department in the agricultural branch appear to be too generally stated, *viz.*, all matters affecting the practical improvement and development of the agricultural resources of the country. We fear much that this abstract will get more and more attenuated, and dissolve into a shadow. We feel sure that both the Government and the people wish to have a clear idea on the subject, that they may be in a position to judge of the real progress made by the department. We would, therefore, suggest that its functions should be well defined. The publication of meteorological returns and agricultural statistics, though highly desirable, are not sufficient for all purposes, nor will any special encouragement to the cultivation or improvement of a single article answer the object of the department. What we now require is, that the department should enquire into the present state of all staple articles, the means of improving their quality, the discovery of cheaper substitutes, and the utilization of refuse and waste products which the commercial history of many countries shows has largely added to the national wealth. If the labours of the department be judiciously directed by collecting and disseminating accurate information, properly classified, by holding out encouragement to articles requiring from their present position special support, and by offering premia for new staples of industry, the department will not be complained of as an incubus on the revenue, as it cannot *but be instrumental in its augmentation*. We have already alluded to the fact that cotton stalks may be made to yield a fibre which is much cheaper and quite as useful as inferior jute. We are informed that in Dharwar where cotton is largely grown, there is an annual loss of 23 lakhs of rupees, arising from the rejection of the cotton stalks. The same remark is applicable to the utilization of cotton seed. It has been estimated that the American waste seed alone yields annually "25,000 tons of pure cotton, 250,000 tons of oil, and 250,000 tons of cattle cake. The husks with the adhering fibre could be treated so as to obtain cotton quite pure for the manufacture of paper, to which purpose it is being applied." There are innumerable

other waste materials which demand a close enquiry, not even rags and night-soil excepted. Some idea of the functions of the American department of agriculture may be obtained from a late speech of the Hon'ble Horace Capron, the Commissioner of the department.

'The department of agriculture is establishing relations with all organized representatives of agriculture, whether governmental or otherwise, making exchanges of seeds, plants, and publications; it is searching through the world for new and valuable plants to acclimatize, new varieties of cereals to test, and, when proved valuable, to distribute. It is stated on competent local authority that hundreds of thousands of bushels of oats are now grown in a single Western State from seed distributed a few years ago, greatly excelling the common seed in productiveness and in quality. Similar facts, showing an increase of millions of dollars in the production of the country through the direct agency of the department are filed in its archives.

'It is often a minor industry which yields superior profits to those engaged in it. There are sources of wealth in the rich flora of the West which are now neglected or spurned, and waste products which might be utilized to advantage. The flax fibre which you formerly cast aside as worthless, is already used extensively in the manufacture of ton bagging for enveloping cotton bales, and enough is probably wasted to supply the Southern market with this substitute for jute bagging. A grass (the *Spartina* or Cord grass) grows in this State in the rankest luxuriance on the swampy bottoms on the Mississippi, which makes an excellent paper and a profit is already made in its manufacture.

'Let the long list of which these are but random samples be extended, and new rewards be offered to labour, new premiums for industry and ingenuity by your societies, leading to the development of new industries, some of which may be small and others amount to millions in their full development. There is work for all; and with this wide variety will come new out-growths, and applications involving more labour, and new creations of wealth.'

We would suggest that an accurate history of every staple article of commerce be compiled and the prices of each at different periods given. Such a work will necessarily suggest valuable hints to the department as to the direction of its labours from time to time. We have said that the seeds and jute have received very little aid from the Government, and that the great impetus they received was from the Crimean war. We have also stated that under the influence of the American war, cotton has extended its dominion in India. In certain parts, it has encroached upon lands which were devoted to the cultivation of cereals and other crops. The reverses which the cotton trade has met and the removal of apprehension as to the falling off in the supply from America now bring cotton under the natural laws of supply and demand. The cultivators will raise cotton or other crops, whichever is more remunerative, and we think that no amount of stimulant or

external pressure which does not affect his pocket, will induce him to neglect his own interests. There is another article which deserves prominent notice. The tea plant was discovered in Munipoor by Mr. Bruce in 1826. Lord William Bentinck, who was then Governor-General, took up the matter in right earnest. He appointed a Tea Committee who, after due enquiry, reported that the tea shrub was indigenous in Upper Assam. Tea seed was procured from China, and distributed to Madras, Assam, and the North-Western Himalayas. In Madras and Assam the seed failed. Indigenous plants were, however, cultivated in Assam, and the first eight chests sent to England are said to have caused "excitement and competition," and the formation of a good opinion of our tea. The Government began to act as the pioneer, and although, for the sake of taking the initiative and establishing the article, it accorded special support, it very properly retired from the field when it was clear that the importance of the article was appreciated by the increased amount of capital and enterprise embarked in the trade. That the cultivation of tea has benefited the country is shown by the quantity of waste-land reclaimed, the number of labourers employed, and the valuable addition it has made to our exports. It is now grown in Sylhet, Cachar, Assam, Chittagong, Dehra Doon, Darjeeling, Khasia and Jyntia Hills, Kumaon, Kangra, Hazareebagh, Akyah or North Arracan, and at Ootacamund. We believe the opinion which persons competent to judge of tea grown in different places is to the following effect. Assam is the strongest, that produced from the indigenous ranking first, the hybrid next, and the China third. Cachar also yields strong tea, but in a general sense not so strong as Assam. Hill teas are remarkable for delicacy of flavour. The export of tea from Calcutta in 1870 was 11,872,653lbs.,—being larger than that of any of the previous nine years.

There is one important subject which has not been alluded to in the despatch as being part of the functions of the department, *viz.*, agricultural education. Akbar made it a part of the course of education in public schools. The British Government has not been wanting in appreciation of the utility of the measure, but as yet it has taken no action, being apparently in a state of tremor by the spectre of difficulty, real or imaginary. But in certain matters the bull must be taken by the horns, and if this be done, the spectre now in possession of the nervous system of the Government will prove delusive. The education now given to the sons of zemindars is of a very general nature and special in certain branches, but not in *agriculture*. The Government may continue to distribute seeds, may offer premia for improved articles, animals and tools of husbandry; these measures will doubtless yield good results to a certain extent, but till the landlords can realize the

practical value of agricultural improvement and the real benefit it confers on them and on those interested as cultivators, the identity of their interests with those of the rural community will not be impressed on them, nor can they look upon agriculture as a source of profit, rational recreation, and one of the best means of enlarging and elevating the mind. Till, we say, landlords are influenced by education to cherish a love for agriculture, Bengal will continue to exhibit the sad monotonous picture it has done for years—a picture of low and swampy lands yielding the same eternal crops of paddy raised by cultivators in rags, living from hand to mouth. The cry for primary education has of late been intense. There is no subject which deserves more serious attention, not because there can be any doubt as to the utility of this education, but as to the *modus operandi*. Bengal has already produced among the high and middle classes a body of educated men well read in English literature, who think, write, and speechify on subjects of all kinds; but if we closely watch and gauge the depth of their minds, it will be evident that there is very little solidity in their so-called education. The solution of this phenomenon is easy. There is a marked difference between education and instruction, and it would appear to be the latter only at which our Universities and Colleges aim.

These and other matters connected with the amelioration of the condition of the rural community no less than the augmentation of the national wealth by the multiplication of the branches of industry in every part of the country, legitimately come under the cognizance of the proposed department. To those who will calmly reflect on the subject, it will appear that agriculture *per se* is an immense field and requires the undivided attention and energy of a special department for the systematic institution of enquiries, the classification of results, and their right application to practical purposes, in view to the improvement of existing products, the development of the vegetable, animal, and mineral resources of the country, their utilization and establishment as consumable and exportable articles. The department should not only work as pioneers in this field, but watch and keep inviolate the elements of agriculture, *viz.*, rent, labour and capital, that they may be all unfettered and free in their operation and be in no way hampered by restrictive laws framed in view of sectional interests. We are also strongly of opinion that the operations of the department should be simultaneously extended to the education of the rural and artizan classes, as it must be evident to every one that the amelioration of the agricultural and industrial condition of the country cannot be carried out without the elevation of the agents required to bring about that end. And in proportion as the agents are elevated, agriculture and trade will make real progress.

Agriculture and commerce are so linked together that, as we have already said, they should be under one department. But the commercial branch ought to be under the control of a mercantile man. For some time the want of a mercantile element in the Imperial Council has been felt and complained of. Of the finance ministers we have had, Wilson and Laing were possessed of mercantile training. At present there is no mercantile element either in the Executive Government or in any of the administrative Boards. But it is obvious that when mercantile statistics have to be collected, when questions bearing on commercial taxation are to be considered and opinions to be submitted on matters affecting the mercantile interests of the country, such duties can only be fitly delegated to one of mercantile education and conversant with the mercantile history of the world.

As for adding revenue to the department, which at present is administered by the Collectors, Commissioners, and the Board (and from all we have heard these officers are all overworked), it would be simply to render the proposed department in reality a Central Board of Revenue in an altered but more comprehensive form. Revenue would be the alpha and omega, while agriculture and commerce would be treated as stillborn babes which, if preserved at all, must be preserved in a mummified state more for the sake of silencing the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester than for any real solid purpose.

ART. II.—PRISON MANAGEMENT.

The Prisons' Act, 1870.

ACT No. XXVI of 1870, commonly called "The Prisons' Act, 1870," came into force on the 1st December last. It extends to the territories under the government of the Lieutenant-Governors of the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, and under the administration of the Chief Commissioners of Oudh, the Central Provinces, and British Burmah. It had barely been passed, when it was remembered that Coorg had been forgotten, and a special legislative measure was found necessary to bring under the Prisons' Act that microscopic paddock swayed by a separate administration.

All or almost all previous enactments regarding prisons have been repealed in the provinces to which the Act extends. In point of fact, however, it appears that most of these provinces had never been provided with prison law. The Regulations that were supposed to contain the law were not in force within them, because, we apprehend, they were not British territory till within recent times. In such provinces, the present Act is the first law on the subject. Prisons, however, have been existing in all the provinces for many years, and were organized and conducted on much the same principles as similar institutions in the older provinces under British rule. For the last two or three years, the system of control and management of prisons may be broadly said to have been identical in principle, and to differ only in minor details, throughout British India. The Legislature, on entering upon their task, found ready to their hand prison laws or usages and prison organization, which they merely codified, making a few alterations and innovations. The changes are mostly confined to minor details, the essential constitution of the existing system being untouched, and, we feel bound to add, its great defects and shortcomings most religiously respected. We propose to explain briefly the organization of prison establishments as set forth in the Act, to indicate here and there the more important of the minor changes and innovations introduced, but to deal at greater length with the defects of the prison system which the Act has let alone.

The essential purpose or object of the Prisons' Act is, we presume, to supplement the Penal Code and other laws, in which imprisonment and hard labour are inflicted on offenders, by declaring what these punishments are and in what manner they are to be carried out. At the outset, it was essential that the Act should have defined with tolerable precision what was meant by

imprisonment and hard labour. These important definitions are wanting, and their absence constitutes a most serious defect in the law. The Legislature should have introduced something similar to the definition of criminal force in the Penal Code. In the interpretation section, the terms "criminal prisoner" and "civil prisoner" are defined with sufficient precision for practical purposes, and there is no fear of one being mistaken for the other. The definition of "prison," however, is open to the objection that a synonyme is put forward as a definition, after the manner of lexicography. In section 3, it is said that prison means any jail or penitentiary; the law is clear, therefore, to the extent that every building popularly called a jail or penitentiary is subject to the jurisdiction of the Prisons' Act. But there are buildings called by other names which should also come under the Act, such as Female Penitentiaries, Juvenile Reformatories, and Lock-ups. We might even say that the words *jail* and *penitentiary* do not include their inmates, a limitation of meaning which might have force with the legal mind, and be considered in certain circumstances an improvement on the suggestion "to abuse the counsel on the opposite side." The clause was, however, introduced manifestly not for the purpose of interpretation, but merely to include under the term prison "the airing grounds or buildings occupied for the use of the prison." The Act does not attempt to declare what hard labour is. The absence of a definite meaning fixed by law upon the words *imprisonment* and *hard labour*, is a much more serious omission than appears at first sight. We shall endeavour hereafter to show what abuses of various kinds are admissible in consequence of local administrations and the magistracy understanding these legal terms each in its own way. As to the other object which the Act has in view, *viz.*, the manner of carrying out the above punishments, the enactments are more elaborate than the interpretation section, though, regarding the achievement of this object also, we are unable to express complete satisfaction, and we shall hereafter explain why.

The requisitions of the Act with regard to prison accommodation are the following:—(1) Absolute separation of males and females. (2) Absolute separation of children under 12 years. (3) Separation of criminal prisoners before trial from convicted prisoners. (4) Separation of civil from criminal prisoners. Local Governments are enjoined so to construct and regulate prisons as to comply with the above requisitions. These arrangements are demanded by obligations of justice, decency and morality; but it is to be regretted that equally important considerations bearing on the health of prisoners have not been borne in mind in settling the question of accommodation. These considerations have been totally overlooked in connection with the accom-

modation to be provided for prisoners in jails. Not even in Section 54, where the Local Governments are empowered to frame rules consistent with the Act, is there any allusion made to the allotment of space for prisoners as one topic which should engage attention. The Act is absolutely silent on this important point. We can only imagine that a subject which by all hygienists and physiologists, without exception, is unanimously considered to be of vital importance, has been omitted through inadvertence. We can hardly believe that the Legislature is of opinion that the subject is not adapted for legislation. Within recent times, various Acts have been passed by the Vice-regal and the local Legislative Councils, in which special sections are devoted to secure suitable and healthful accommodation for people on board ship, in lodging houses, pilgrim houses, while in the employ of masters, &c., and inflicting heavy penalties for non-observance. In England and elsewhere, the advisability, and indeed absolute necessity, of laying upon all persons who assume the responsibility of furnishing accommodation for human beings definite and precise obligations as to space, to be enforced under legal penalties, has for many years past received the recognition of the Legislature. Indeed, if the prevention of pernicious and deadly diseases, and of the wholesale slaughter of human beings, be a proper subject to call for the interposition of the saving arm of the law, we do not see how the Legislature could reasonably withhold its action. The absence of a thorough appreciation of the responsibility incurred by neglect of due attention to this point of *space commensurate with numbers*, is a serious defect in existing prison administration in India, and it is a matter to be deeply regretted that the Prisons' Act does not contain a single section to attach importance to it.

It is not necessary for us to discuss the question of the sanitary importance of providing breathing space to large agglomerations of prisoners or human beings collected in one building. We may be permitted, however, to quote the quaint but apposite remarks of JOHN HOWARD on the subject, to show that he directed special attention to it a century ago. The absence of legal precautions against neglect of this source of danger to prisoners in the Prisons' Act, 1870, is not consistent with the national reverence due to the counsels of the great philanthropist, which have formed the basis of prison legislation in all civilized countries since his days.

'And as to *air*, which is no less necessary than either of the two preceding articles (*i.e.*, food and water,) and given us by Providence quite *gratis*, without any care or labour of our own; yet, as if the bounteous goodness of Heaven excited our envy, methods are contrived to rob prisoners of this *genuine cordial of life*, as Dr. Hales very properly

calls it—I mean by preventing that circulation and change of the salutiferous fluid, without which animals cannot live and thrive. It is well known that air, which has performed its office in the lungs, is feculent and noxious. Writers upon the subject show that a hog'shead of air will last a man only an hour; but those who do not choose to consult philosophers, may judge from a notorious fact: In 1756, at Calcutta, in Bengal, out of a hundred and seventy persons who were confined in a hole there one night, a hundred and fifty-four were taken out dead. The few survivors ascribed the mortality to their want of fresh air, and called the place *Hell in miniature*.

'Air which has been breathed is made poisonous to a more intense degree by effluvia from the sick and what else in prisons is offensive. My reader will judge of its malignity, when I assure him that my clothes were in my *first* journeys so offensive that in a post-chaise I could not bear the windows drawn up, and was therefore obliged to travel commonly on horseback. The leaves of my memorandum-book were often so tainted that I could not use it till after spreading it an hour or two before the fire, and even my antidote—a vial of vinegar—has, after using it in a few prisons, become intolerably disagreeable. I did not wonder that in those journeys many gaolers made excuses, and did not go with me into the felons' wards.

'I learn from a letter to Sir Robert Ladbroke, printed in 1771, page 11, that "Dr Hales, Sir John Pringle, and others, have observed that air, corrupted and putrefied, is of such a subtle and powerful nature as to rot and dissolve heart of oak, and that the walls of buildings have been impregnated with this poisonous matter for years together."

'From hence any one may judge of the probability there is against the health and life of prisoners crowded in close rooms, cells and subterraneous dungeons, for fourteen or fifteen hours out of the four-and-twenty.*

In the circumstance of crowding, we see a gross evil or abuse that is permissible in consequence of the absence of a definite legal meaning of the term imprisonment. Detention in a prison raises the idea of the number of inmates that the prison can accommodate, but the law has taken no care to notify the number of prisoners that may be confined in a prison of fixed dimensions. As matters stand at present, it is not illegal to detain an indefinite number of prisoners in a prison of definite dimensions. If it were possible to perpetrate afresh the torments of the Black Hole, the act would not be illegal, provided the place of confinement was a prison, and the victims duly assigned to it by the warrant of a Magistrate. It should not be too readily assumed that such a catastrophe is impossible in our age and under British rule, or that legislation to prevent it is supererogatory.

* *The state of Prisons in Eng-land and Wales, &c.* By John Howard, F.R.S. 1777.

It is possible from thoughtlessness; and the law should guard against the thoughtlessness that might lead to the occurrence of what would be a national scandal for all time. A definite proportion between the number of occupants and the space occupied should enter into the legal conception of imprisonment. A safe minimum of space for the confinement of individuals should be prescribed by law, below which it should be made illegal to confine. The Executive will thus be duly notified and warned, and the consequences of thoughtlessness in the matter will be legally preventible.

Even at the present day, however, most serious consequences occur annually in prisons because of the elasticity of the legal idea of imprisonment. An Indian prison may be justly compared to the bed of Procrustes, excepting that its occupants are reduced in dimensions to fit it, sometimes by removal of a part, but often by simple *compression*. At present the local Governments profess, and indeed are most anxiously desirous, to allot a certain amount of space to individual prisoners; but their practical, though removeable, difficulties preclude a commensurate fulfilment of their professions and wishes. How far they have fallen short of their good intentions, we intend to show. We believe that we shall be doing good service, if we succeed in drawing attention to some startling facts, scattered through the official reports on prisons, that are necessarily allowed to pass unnoticed by the newspaper press. Indeed, we require no better illustrations of our remarks on this subject, as well as on others that we shall hereafter discuss, than the faithfully and honestly recorded *facts* in the annual reports to local Governments of the Provincial Inspectors General of Prisons. We shall endeavour, however, to limit our references, as far as we can well do so, to the *facts* stated in the report of the Officiating Inspector General of the Punjab prisons for 1869, the latest available. We need not seek elsewhere for more abundant and apposite proof of the shortcomings of the Prisons' Act, 1870, than the condition of the prisons of that province, now more than 20 years under British rule, as set forth in the clear and well-prepared annual report and its statistical appendices for the year 1869.

We find it stated in that report that the allowance of breathing space per prisoner in the Punjab prisons is 648 cubic feet. This is a moderate allowance and perhaps beyond danger range. Professor Huxley, who, we believe, fixes the breathing space necessary for an adult at a smaller amount than other physiologists, assigns 800 cubic feet of space, freely accessible by direct and indirect channels with the outer atmosphere, as sufficient to provide respiratory air in a fair state of purity to a full-grown man. Turning to No. II. Imperial Return, the Inspector-General reports that

in 1869 out of thirty jails, twelve provided above 648 cubic feet per prisoner, three above 600, eight between 500 and 600, four between 400 and 500, one only 321, and one only 272. The cubic space per prisoner in one jail is not stated, the building being in course of construction and the prisoners being meanwhile accommodated in tents. Thus, eighteen out of the thirty jails could not provide the amount of space which the local Government is desirous its prisoners should obtain. In some of them the amount of breathing air was absolutely insufficient to maintain health; in the last two it was absolutely insufficient to support nature, and was dangerous to life unless unexceptionably good ventilation existed. In point of fact, it would appear that these two jails are old buildings, and we imagine them to consist only of roofs supported on pillars, but without walls. One was "formerly used as a stable," and the other is described as "an old serai."

So much for cubic space or breathing room. Now for superficial space, or squatting room, of which the allowance is stated to be 36 square feet to each prisoner. The following extracts from the Inspector General's report will show how very generally this rule was transgressed :—

'There is accommodation in the Delhi jail for 291. During the year there has been great over-crowding, the daily average number having been 337; but the number of prisoners in jail has often been above 400.' In the Gurgaon jail, containing 95 prisoners, 'there is accommodation in the sleeping barracks for only 62, so that the wards are now very much over-crowded. But the number of prisoners here has at times during the past year risen to 200, and has very often been as high as 150.' 'The Hissar jail during the year has been very much over-crowded. It is capable of containing 174 prisoners; the daily average number of all classes has been 258, and there have been at times nearly 300 in confinement.' In the Rohtuk jail 'there has been at times considerable over-crowding, notwithstanding that, under orders of Government, 44 prisoners have been released before expiry of their sentence.' At Jullundhur 'during the whole year, but especially during the latter half of it, the jail has been greatly over-crowded. There is accommodation for 267 prisoners. The daily average number during the year has been 388. The highest number was 439.' In the Gurdaspore jail 'the present arrangement of sleeping berths is objectionable. The four berths between each grated opening touch one another, and each compartment has 32 instead of 22. During the past year the jail has been at times greatly over-crowded. It is capable of containing 249 prisoners; there have been as many as 385 in it, and the daily average during the year 1869 was 321.' Gujranwalla—'This jail has been over-crowded during the greater portion of this year, at times to a most dangerous extent. Yesterday there were 460 prisoners of all classes in jail. It is capable of containing 406 at 36 square feet for each prisoner. There have been in it upwards of 600. The wards at present most crowded are No. 11 and the two wings

(A and B). In these the raised berths are not so well ventilated as the others. This state of matters is most dangerous.' Ferozepore—'The jail is capable of containing 358 prisoners; on the 26th February there were 410 prisoners of all classes in jail. There has been great over-crowding during the whole of the past year, the daily average number having been 423.' Jhelum—'During the whole of the hot weather the jail has been over-crowded. The barracks are capable of containing 285 prisoners, provided that all of the available space in every barrack is occupied. But the classification renders this impossible. When, therefore, there are 386 prisoners, as there are at present, the over-crowding is much greater than would at first sight appear.' Gujerat—'The number of prisoners in jail was as follows:—males 329 and females 6. The serai is capable of containing, at the rate of 36 square feet of barrack floor-space to each, 284 prisoners; there is, therefore, considerable over-crowding.' Shahpore—'Notwithstanding that 64 prisoners were released during the past year before expiry of their sentence by special order of Government, the jail has been greatly over-crowded. There is accommodation in the jail for 236 prisoners of all classes. The average number in jail during 1869 was 362.' Mooltan—'During the latter half of the year there was very great over-crowding in the jail, and 100 prisoners had to be transferred to Mozuffergurh.'

These extracts speak for themselves. In some of the jails the numbers noted as resident at times within them, are almost incredible. For instance, in the Delhi jail, four men often obtained the space of three in the sleeping barracks; each man unavoidably inspired the air expired by his neighbour, unless they slept in reverse attitudes, heads and feet alternately. We should explain that in jail the prisoners sleep in rows, shoulder to shoulder, along the floor of the barrack. In most jails there are *chabootras*, or raised berths, for sleeping on. The latter was an ingenious idea of the Inspector General of the North-Western Provinces, introduced under some sanitary pretence or other, but really, we believe, to prevent crowding. In the Gurgaon jail, three men at times occupied the space of one, *i.e.*, an area of 4×9 feet. The breadth of an ordinary man's back is nearly 18 inches. Doubtless the ingenuity of officers was exerted to the utmost to press into service every available contrivance for adding to the sleeping accommodation, such as the erection of sheds, the use of tents, the conversion of work-shops, where they existed, into dormitories; but even taking all these expedients into consideration, there can be no doubt whatever that the amount of crowding was very great. Dr. Gray, the Inspector General, thus writes:—

'Almost all the jails in the province became over-crowded, some of them to an alarming extent, notwithstanding that short-term prisoners were accommodated at night in work-sheds, tents or huts, whenever such means of disposing of them were available. It became necessary, therefore, to resort to other means for thinning the numbers in jail.'

He proceeds to remark that the Commissioners of divisions were authorized to release the prisoners in excess of the accommodation, and that accordingly 1,850 were let loose.

The late Sir Henry Durand, the Lieutenant-Governor, remarks :—

‘During 1869, the number of jails was increased by the addition of Karnal, Gurgaon and Rupa, but the accommodation was much below the wants of the Province; hence there was considerable over-crowding of jails, and it was necessary to resort to special measures to relieve them. This over-crowding must, however, be regarded as exceptional, and the result of causes before noticed,’ *i.e.*, of the scarcity and costliness of food that prevailed during the year.

It should, however, have been borne in mind that arrangements are necessary not merely for ordinary years, but also for exceptional circumstances that may occur and which in fact are frequently recurring contingencies. A legal limit regarding the least space to be assigned to a prisoner would be borne in mind in exceptional circumstances, to guard against the dangers of which it is especially needed. It is not ordinary weather, but the storm against which the ship-master takes his precautions. The local Governments, under the pressure of and mindful of a legal obligation, would provide tents, portable wooden huts or other contrivances, which from various causes are not at hand in sufficient quantities in jails, except after an emergency has actually arisen and serious mischief has been already done.

To complete our account of the accommodation of the Punjab prisons, which are under the Prisons’ Act, 1870, in the last year for which official information is available, we must allude to a terrible outbreak of typhus fever in one of the largest jails. The number attacked was 563, and no fewer than 84 died of this one disease. The two medical officers of the prison say downright that the cause of the origin of the fever was the crowding of the prisoners in the jail. The Inspector General says otherwise, and he produces a curious piece of ratiocination, which he styles an “argument in favour of the fever having been introduced from the outside.” We can hardly believe that the Inspector General, clearly a talented medical officer, seriously believes that his argument, as a piece of inductive reasoning, will have weight with the medical profession or the public. No one can doubt that many avenues of communication from the outside to the inside of the jail existed, but he has omitted to show proof that typhus existed in the outside, by which word is meant the free population. The argument is evidently an extreme but futile effort to avert the incidence of a grave reproach upon the Executive. It is to our point, however, to observe that the Inspector General admits that the over-crowding “pre-disposed to the disease and rendered its spread more rapid, and the resulting mortality higher.”

We shall now pass beyond the area of the Punjab prisons, to the prisons of all the provinces in the continent of India in which the Act is in force, and show that outbreaks or epidemics of fever, which, if not identical with the disease called typhus fever, resembled it in two qualities — deadliness and contagiousness, were of constant occurrence as far back as Dr. Bryden's statistical tables supply us with information. From those tables it would appear that the mortality from this fever alone was excessive at Lucknow, Meerut and Agra in 1859, at Allahabad in 1860 ; at Agra, Meerut, Umballa, Allyghur, Jullundhur and Loodianah in 1861 ; at Mooltan, Lahore, Bareilly and Agra in 1863 ; at Lahore, Rawul Pindi, Futteghur, Umritsir and Umballa in 1864 ; at Lucknow, Nagpore, Gondah, Bareilly and Peshawur in 1865 ; at Umballa and Allahabad in 1866 ; at Peshawur in 1867 ; and at Gondah again in 1868.

That the origin of the fever, in some instances, was due to the incarceration in a healthy prison of persons suffering from contagious fever is not improbable, but the proof of it given is not crucial. That crowding spreads the fever, even after this not improbable mode of origin, and increases its mortality, is not doubted. Not only is this the case with fever, but also with other contagious diseases. Cutaneous disorders spread amongst prisoners chiefly from this cause. Dr. Gray, the Officiating Inspector General of the Punjab prisons, speaks of a contagious pulmonary disease which spreads in jails by communication from those suffering from it to the healthy. The *Pioneer* last year had a notice of an epidemic of diphtheria in the Mooltan jail. This deadly disease was probably communicated to the prisoners from outside, and spread amongst them.

From Dr. Bryden's tables, the mortality from all diseases in the prisons under the Act, in past years, has been very considerable, and it might be set down generally as very much over 5,000 from contagious fever alone, during the short period for which statistics are extant. If the lives of criminals be not considered of much economic value, there can be no question that the lives of the village populations require the protection of the Legislature. We have said that it is not considered improbable that the fever may be introduced into jail from the outside ; it will be admitted that the converse is true, and that the communication of the disease from the prisoners to the free population is probable. There is so little available information within our reach regarding the social life of the native population of this country that we regret that we are unable to bring forward any authentic accounts of the communication of contagious fever from prisoners in jail to the free population outside. Dr. Bryden's statistical tables are confined to the enumeration of diseases and deaths amongst the European and

Native troops and convicts. The Sanitary Commissioners are unable to supply the vital statistics of the free population and the diseases prevalent amongst them, and the information which they do supply is of a vague nature, and of use only as an index of the general unhealthiness of the free population. In the absence of precise information, we must fall back upon analogies, and reason as to what might be the probable ultimate consequences of an epidemic of contagious fever in a jail, from the known facts regarding the spread of other and better known contagious diseases, such as small-pox and measles. It is notorious, moreover, that the attendants of prisoners and the police of jails contract the fever from the prisoners. We remember a magistrate of the Civil Service who contracted fever during an epidemic of that disease in a jail, while in the performance of his duty, and who died of it. In the remote and sluggish districts in which these jails are situated, the free population is not alarmed by the outbreak of contagious fever in them. If a similar catastrophe were possible in the great jail at Alipore, or the Presidency Jail near Chowringhee, the European inhabitants of those pleasant suburbs would be struck with panic, and many would adopt the safeguard of a temporary removal to a distance, or of a strict quarantine on their servants and premises. Our information is too scanty to justify a positive statement, but we are justified in asserting that the probability is very great that the villages in the neighbourhood of afflicted jails become affected by the convicts who are daily released by twos and threes with the disease dormant in them at the time, but developed shortly after.* We may not have seen the consequences of the bursting of a particular kind of shell cast into the midst of a multitude, but we may imagine those consequences, by recalling what we recollect of the bursting of an ordinary kind of shell which we have seen. Our theory may account for the terrible ravages committed by a disease supposed to be ordinary malarious fever amongst the free population, but which may be the same deadly fever which has caused such heavy mortality amongst prisoners in jail; the disease having, in some cases at least, spread from the latter. It should be remembered that in districts containing many hundreds of thousands, perhaps a million of souls, there is but one, or at the most three, medical civil officers, whose range of observation does not extend much beyond the Government establish-

* Howard gives an illustration :—
 “A prisoner, some time ago dismissed from the jail here, carried the fever to his own family in Droitwich, six miles from this place, and famous for its salt springs and works, a place where fevers have seldom been

heard of but from contagion; the contagion from the above occasion has spread to the poor neighbours of the family above mentioned, and fourteen individuals have already died of it.”

ments. To this paucity of medical officers in the country may be justly attributed the want of authentic information (though no lack of theories and opinions) regarding the nature of the disease which periodically decimates the village population. That the Government establishments do contract the fever from the prisoners, is certain.

We shall now compare Indian experience of contagious fever in jails within recent times with that of JOHN HOWARD a century ago, as given in his own words :—

‘I am ready to think that none who give credit to what is contained in the foregoing pages, will wonder at the havoc made by the *gaol-fever*. From my own observations in 1773, 1774 and 1775, I was fully convinced that many more prisoners were destroyed by it than were put to death by all the public executions in the kingdom. This frequent effect of confinement in prisons seems generally understood, and shows how full of emphatical meaning is the curse of a severe creditor, who pronounces his debtor’s doom to *rot in gaol*. I believe I have learned the full import of this sentence from the vast numbers who, to my certain knowledge, and some of them before my eyes, have perished by the *gaol fever*.

But the mischief is not confined to prisons. Not to mention now the number of *sailors* and of *families* in America that have been infected by transports, multitudes caught the distemper by going to their relatives and acquaintance in the gaols : many others from prisoners discharged, and not a few in the courts of judicature.

In *Baker’s Chronicle*, page 353, that historian, mentioning the Assize held in Oxford Castle in 1577 (called from its fatal consequences the *Black Assize*), informs us that “all who were present died within forty hours—the Lord Chief Baron, the Sheriff, and about three hundred more.” Lord Chancellor Bacon ascribes this to a disease brought into Court by the prisoners, and Dr. Mead is of the same opinion.

It were easy to multiply instances of this mischief, but those which have been mentioned are, I presume, sufficient to show, even if no mercy were due to prisoners, that the *gaol distemper* is a *national concern* of no small importance.’

The officers of prisons appointed under the Act are an Inspector General of Prisons to each Province, and to each prison a Superintendent, a Medical Officer (who may also be the Superintendent), a Jailer, and such subordinate officers as the local Government thinks necessary. The Inspectors General in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab will be appointed by the respective local Governments : in Oudh, the Central Provinces and British Burma, by the Governor-General in Council. The Inspectors General, subject to the orders of the local Governments, will exercise the general control and superintendence of all prisons within their respective provinces. The Superintendent’s duties are stated in detail as follows :—the management of the prison in all matters relating to

discipline, labour, expenditure, punishment and control ; correspondence in all matters connected with the prison with and through the Inspector General : submission to the Inspector General of all bills of prison expenditure with proper vouchers for audit : reporting to the Inspector General from time to time, as they occur, all escapes and recaptures, and all outbreaks of epidemic disease : sending to the Inspector General returns of all prisoners sentenced to transportation : periodical inspection of all property of the Government in his charge, and reporting thereon to the Inspector General : and, generally, obedience to all rules made under section fifty-four for the guidance of the Superintendent.

The precision and detail with which the Superintendent's duties are sketched in the Act, are indicative of the importance attached by the Legislature to that officer. The Superintendent is indeed the most essential and important officer in an Indian prison, and on his character, efficiency and independence rest, in great measure, the well-being and quality of the institution which he superintends, and the usefulness, health and lives of its inmates. By this section the Act has introduced a much needed change in the administration of the provincial prisons ; but we regret that so salutary a revolution has not been effected without a drawback which every one who has studied the fragmentary history of Indian prisons will deplore. The system formerly in vogue was this. In the large central jails of all the Provinces, we believe, the magistracy were relieved of all share of duty or authority, and the Superintendents carried on exclusively the duties and responsibilities of their own charges. The minor or district jails, however, were nominally superintended by the magistracy ; they attached their signatures to all correspondence, reports, bills of expenditure, &c., as if these documents proceeded from them : but the actual work, such as the management of the jails, the preparation of reports, correspondence, and bills, the inspection of prison property, &c., was performed by the officers in charge. The magistracy were the medium of communication between the Inspectors General and their working subordinates. Such was the former official organization, with minor differences in the various provinces ; the theory being that the magistracy administered the jails, employing the officers in charge as their agents or deputies. The Prisons' Act has definitely swept away this unjust system, which relieved the magistracy of personal labour, but put into their hands all the power. In our judgment, the disseverance of the magistracy from the administration of the provincial prisons even as far as the Prisons' Act has effected that object, is a hopeful and important advance, and will be prolific of good results, valuable to the Government and to society, and protective of the prisoners. It was doubtless with satisfaction that Superin-

tendents read over the minute items of their daily duties which the Act has made personal and not vicarious, and enjoyed the tautology which will definitely prevent the interposition of the magistracy between them and the Inspectors General of Prisons.

We should have avoided rattling amongst dead bones, but for the concluding clause of Section 13, which runs thus:—"The Superintendent shall also obey all orders respecting the prison given by the Magistrate of the District, or the Deputy Commissioner, as the case may be, and shall report to the Inspector General all such orders and the action thereon." This is a good example of the inherent conservatism of the British character, and of the tenacity with which the law holds on to the skirts of effete institutions. The preceding clauses, with striking precision and exactitude, which contrast most remarkably with all the other provisions of the Act, exempt the magistracy from taking part in the administration of prisons. The concluding clause, which we have quoted verbatim, partially reinstates them in the position from which the seven preceding clauses removed them, and indeed, leaves them in very much the same position which they held before! Seven clauses seemingly secure the independence of the Superintendent,—the peg on which hangs much more of the real interests of Government and of the prospects of the prisoners than is apparent to the superficial observer: the 8th clause destroys it!

The Legislature has clearly perceived that in the organization decreed by the Act there was absolutely no place for the magistracy. The conception of retaining them was incongruous and forced, and may spoil the practical efficiency of an excellent plan of prison organization. The magistracy are an excrescence on the system of prison administration constructed by the Act—officials *de trop*, as it were—administrative supernumeraries whose co-operation is superfluous and might be dispensed with. No administrative duties can be discovered which can be assigned to them: no fragment of responsibility which can be well shifted to their shoulders, without weakening the general administration and loosening the bonds of responsibility wisely laid upon the prison executive. Under such circumstances, we cannot help thinking that it is somewhat hard and unfair to the prison authorities that the magistracy should be invested with any power over them at all.

The Prisons' Act places over Superintendents two distinct authorities or masters, independent of each other, the Inspectors General and the magistracy. It has omitted, moreover, probably through inadvertence, to set judicious tethers on the power of the magistracy to interfere in prison administration. This power is absolute under the Act, and over-rides the authority even of the Inspectors General. There is no section, clause or single word in the Act to render it

legally subject even to the control of the local Governments ; while that of the Inspectors General is properly subordinated, as both in justice ought to be, if a double authority is considered essential. Past experience of the results of the antagonism and opposition to each other of different departments and departmental officers has surely been forgotten. We can foresee the amount of success and smooth action that will follow. So far as we can judge, the easy working and success of future prison administration may be brought about by the abeyance of the concluding clause of section 13. Sensible magistrates will lend themselves to the practical suppression of the clause, the enactment of which is of questionable expediency. They will wisely abstain from exercising an authority, which, exercised even with the best intentions, may dislocate and throw into confusion the arrangements of the prison executive ; and which may involve them in disagreement and official controversy on matters of a speciality in which they have no personal concern or responsibility. But should the power be exercised vexatiously and frequently, differences of opinion between the magistracy on the one side and the Inspectors General and Superintendents on the other, will give rise to courtly quarreling. An absence of cordiality between the magistracy and the prison executive will tell upon prison administration and fall upon the prisoners. Opposition and antagonism in a hundred small matters, and a general snubbing of the prison executive in all their views, plans and proposals, will have the effect in the future which they have had in the past—the submission and apathy of despair ; laxity of discipline ; the immoral idleness of prisoners ; sickness and occasionally the *jail fever* ; a satisfactory annual report, and the approbation of the Local Government : an extraordinary combination of the abnegation of the dues and duties of responsible public servants ; indiscipline and idleness ; disease, complacency and commendation !

It does not seem clear from the Prisons' Act that the office of Superintendent may not be held by the magistracy. By the public press, vague statements have recently been made that the re-employment of the magistracy in prison management is under consideration by the Government. This subject does not appear to us to be viewed in the light in which we contemplate it. It would seem that the question has taken the form of a struggle between the magistracy and the medical and other officers of Government—of a dispute, as it were, as to whether the magistracy should be depressed in favour of the elevation of the latter. The question also takes the form of economy, the services of the magistracy being given gratuitously, whereas the services of medical and other officers have to be remunerated. It has also been said that the magistracy do not abuse their power

in prisons ; but that with medical superintendents the abuse of power is possible, and instances of alleged abuse are whispered about. We have already indicated the form in which the question appears to us, namely, whether the national scandal above alluded to should continue to exist or not. Whichever of the competing bodies can best and soonest effect the removal of this scandal, is the one to whom the administration of the prisons should be entrusted. We may hereafter discuss the question of economy in prison administration, as far as that subject is connected with the Prisons' Act ; but shall remark here that this scandal involves (besides economic waste of life and labour) the honour of the nation, which ought not to be bartered for the sum expended for the services of paid superintendents, if the latter are better adapted for attaining a national and most righteous object. The allegations regarding abuse of authority we believe to be founded on misapprehension.

We consider the subject of agency very important for the proper working of the Prisons' Act, and shall devote some space to its discussion. We begin by observing that the magistracy have already had a trial in prison administration, with the issue of a crucial experiment, in our opinion. For a whole century did they administer the prisons of this country, with results, yet unwritten in the history of the British administration of India, which scandalized the nation and filled the Government with horror. The Indian prisons were much more in need of a Howard thirty years ago, ay ! and to a more recent date, than the English and Welsh prisons a century ago. The administration of the prisons by the magistracy was characterized (with microscopic yet honourable exceptions,) by disorder ; neglect of prison discipline ; the immoral idleness of prisoners ; non-observance of the decencies of life, and even of the complete separation of the sexes ; bribery and corruption of prison officers ; all manner of abuses of authority and management ; numberless illegalities ; ridicule and contempt of medical counsels ; neglect of sanitation ; insanity, gangrene, diarrhoea, and fever ; indifference to human suffering and reckless disregard of human life. We refrain from harrowing the feelings of our readers by a more detailed recital, or by quotations from the fragmentary literature of that administration. We refer them to the long death roll given in Dr. Bryden's pages. Prison administration by the magistracy was lethal and nosological ; veritably a department of Pathology, of the details of which relics and authentic descriptions are doubtless existing in the museum and library of the Medical College. What scurvy was in the old Navy, gangrene was in the old prisons. Within the long period of that administration, not one man stood forward as a *prison reformer*. *Such was the condition of things which led to*

the creation by the Government of India of *medical* Inspectors General of prisons—appointments which may justly be taken to be an official expression and living evidence of the opinion, that the magistrates had signally failed in the administration of the prisons of the country. The unpaid services of the magistracy have been costly to the feelings and honour of the nation. The vices of their mis-management still linger ; so deeply had they taken root during the prolonged period of mal-administration.

Turn we now to the revered pages of HOWARD for his testimony regarding the value in prison administration of the English *confrères* of the magistracy—the Great Unpaid. In the *General View of Distress in Prisons* occurs not a name of a Magistrate or Justice. The allies of Howard were not the magistracy, nor even the clergy and bishops, themselves at that time proprietors of jails ; whose agency in prison administration is not likely to be invited in this country. The allies of HOWARD were the king's judges, the lawyers, or the writers on the principles of penal law, and above all, the doctors. Repeatedly in HOWARD's book—the gospel of salvation to prisoners—occur the names of Dr. Hales, Sir John Pringle, Dr. Mead, Dr. Lind, Dr. MacFarlan, Dr. Heberden, Dr. Watson, Dr. Priestly, and others ; some of them still familiar and honoured in the profession. Even in those days the doctors were earnestly endeavouring to extirpate a national scandal, *the jail fever*. They invented a system of ventilating poor-houses and the wards of jails, which has been the basis of modern means of ventilation. A system similar in principle, with improvements and adaptations, is in operation in the jail at Agra and other jails in the provinces. Even jailers obtained a tribute of respect from HOWARD, those who were good men, honest, active and humane. "Such was *Abel Dagge*," he writes, "who was formerly keeper of Bristol Newgate. I regretted his death and revere his memory. And such is *George Smith*, the keeper of Tothill-fields, Bridewell." Of the magistracy, HOWARD says but little till the close of the chapter, and there he writes of them in words of derision and scorn, alarm and despair. Thus :—"I have often enquired of jailers, whether the sheriffs, justices, or town-magistrates inspect their jails ? Many of the oldest have answered, 'None of these gentlemen ever looked into the dungeons, or even the wards of my jail.' Others have said, 'These gentlemen think that if they come into my jail, they should be in their graves.' Others, 'The justices think the inside of my house too close for them ; they satisfy themselves with viewing the outside.' Now, if magistrates continue thus negligent of their duty, a general thorough reformation of our prisons must be dispaired of. What has been already done will soon be lost ; and all will sink again into the former dreadful condition." HOWARD says that he

met many "worthy" and "and very worshipful" gentlemen in the commission of the peace, and "one sensible magistrate"—the last in Holland. He mentions one suggestive anecdote, which should be pondered. "In one of these houses three prisoners were starved to death, only one half-penny being found upon them all. I waited upon the coroner (who, from the humanity of the laws, must be applied to in such a case) and he acquainted me, that the verdict brought in was *by the visitation of God*, otherwise the keeper would have been liable to a prosecution for felony, and might have been hanged; whereas the fault lay with the Justice, who had ordered an allowance not sufficient to support nature."

After the revolution of a century, Dr. Mouat, who did for the prisons of Bengal and India what HOWARD had effected for the prisons of England and the Western world, bears very similar testimony in regard to the magistracy in this country. In his last annual report (for 1869) of the prisons of the Lower Provinces, he attributes the increase of punishment to the following cause:—"The increase is entirely owing to the stricter enforcement of discipline by (medical) officers, who had time to attend to the details of prison control, and to prevent the abuses inseparable from a system in which the officer in charge (the magistrate) could only visit his jail once a week, and sometimes did not see it for months together." How close the analogy is between Dr. Mouat's magistrates and HOWARD'S justices! But Dr. Mouat would also appear to charge the magistracy with a determined and obstinate opposition, and hints that while themselves so grossly culpable in their management of prisons, they view with anything but satisfaction the transfer of those duties to others. "The great increase in the number of persons sentenced to simple imprisonment since the charge of the jails passed out of the hands of the magistracy, is remarkable and deserving of careful enquiry. These prisoners live a life of absolute idleness; are fed, clothed, lodged and cared for by the State; and are a heavy drag upon the prison system. To most natives of India simple imprisonment is no punishment; hence it appears to me that the criminal law itself urgently needs revision on this point." This page was noticed by Sir William Grey, the Lieutenant-Governor. His Honour admits that "the increase of 2,674 in the number of prisoners sentenced to simple imprisonment in 1869, and the decrease of 1,086 prisoners sentenced to rigorous imprisonment is remarkable." While ascribing this circumstance partially to other causes, His Honour promises investigation, and adds that "any special instances of districts in which sentences of simple imprisonment unduly preponderate, should be brought to notice."

In passing these strictures upon the magistracy, we are fully aware that the main cause of the maladministration which we have

endeavoured to expose, has been the want of sufficient time to attend to prison management properly. A magistrate is charged with the civil administration of a whole county in all its various departments, and if some of his duties are consequently performed in a perfunctory manner, the fault lies as much with the system as with the individual. At the same time this circumstance cannot palliate, and ought not to be allowed to shut our eyes to, the gross mismanagement which is no less a historical fact than a disgrace to our administration.

While prison administration by the magistracy has been in the dreadful past such as we have cursorily described it, the cautious and tentative experiments made by the Government of India of entrusting the administration to the hands of medical officers in its employ, have afforded a pleasing and satisfactory contrast. Within the short period of a few years, names have arisen which are known to the public in Europe and America, as those of men who are valuable and successful prison administrators: many of whom have acquired this collateral reputation and usefulness, while in the full and active performance of other and onerous professional duties. Even a few jailers have appeared, who, as Howard would say, are "good men, honest, active and humane." A female jailer has arisen—Mrs. Philbert of Russa; and native jailers are not wanting, who, if less known to Europeans, are thoroughly respected by the native local communities. An agglomeration of pest-houses, inhabited by prisoners, filled with material and moral abominations, was some years ago handed over by the Government to Dr. Mouat. For years he laboured, through good report and evil report, overcoming by his tact and ability all difficulties and active and passive opposition: cleared, swept and garnished; and, as a final effort of agony, weeded out the magistracy. Throughout he received the cordial support of the Government. A few months ago, on retiring from the service in a green old age, Dr. Mouat returned his trust into the hands of Government—a neat, compact and well-organized department of State, of which the country may well be proud. Dr. Mouat's prison system is a model and guide for future reformers: a benefit that will remain to India when the British constitution has succumbed to Macaulay's New Zealander. It is a natural system, and will survive.

Looking round upon the prisons scattered over thousands of miles of the Bengal Presidency, it will be seen that where the power and influence of medical officers preponderate, industry is progressing and mortality is kept at bay. What a contrast, for instance, between the jail at Alipore and that at Peshawur, at the two extreme limits of the Bengal Presidency! Of Peshawur the Inspector General writes, "There are no workshops;" while

from the way in which we have heard that jail spoken⁷ of, we feel justified in saying that, if not now, not long ago it was a bare chance, the toss-up of a rupee, as it were, whether a sentence of imprisonment was not a sentence of death. On the other hand, the jail at Alipore is a gigantic printing house and jute factory, in which steam machinery is in use. The chances of life among the prisoners are as good as among the general population. The difference between these two jails strikingly corresponds with, and corroborates, a fact that is apparent throughout prison history.

From time to time for some years past, we have periodically heard of the outbreaks of fever in jails, of the deadly and contagious sort which Howard was acquainted with and called the jail fever; the extermination of which, he says, it was one object of his life and labours to accomplish, and which eventually killed him. We feel assured that most, if not all, of these outbreaks were anticipated, and that the medical officers explained, demonstrated, warned, remonstrated, protested, did all but defy the magistracy and challenge them to single combat. They must have recognized that the circumstances of the prisoners were dangerous to health and life, for these matters are the rudiments of their science. We have no doubt that many impending outbreaks were prevented or mitigated by timely adoption of the precautionary measures suggested by them. For there cannot be a question that there are many sensible magistrates, men of humanity and consideration for the weak, who are willing and ready to subordinate their judgment and action to the advice of medical men for the prevention of sickness and mortality amongst prisoners. But there is also no question that there are magistrates of a different stamp, men who thoughtlessly sacrifice the health and lives of prisoners from obstinacy, antagonism, the desire to snub the medical officer and make him feel his inferior position.

To this dangerous element may be justly attributed much of the havoc of life in prisons. We believe that Lord Mayo has expressed strong dissatisfaction with the distress in the prisons of the Punjab, but we regret that his displeasure has apparently been soothed, or diverted upon the wrong party—the medical Inspector General of Prisons! This may account for the timidity apparent in the report for 1869—the reticence and the excuses—as if the reporter hesitated to speak his mind. This, by the way, may also account for the “argument in favour of the fever having been introduced from the outside.” This accounts for the ingenious device of the panorama (No. XIII) by which he illustrates the eagerness with which magistrates seek to relieve themselves of the jail charge—five or six magistrates having charge of the same jail in the course of a single year. This, however, did not prevent Dr. Gray from working small sums in arithmetic, whereby he demonstrated

satisfactorily, for instance, that a jail which had superficial space for 406 prisoners was over-crowded when 600 were committed to it, and from pointing out many other things, grave and gay, from tragic scenes of the suffering and death of men and women in imprisonment to the comic progress of prison industry; over all which the gentle patriarch who governed the Punjab alternately wept and smiled, with apparent helplessness. There will be little, we might say no hope of industry, morality, health and security of life for prisoners in Indian jails like those of the Punjab, if the protecting arm of mercy, interposed by the Government of India between them and the magistracy, be weakened. Regarding the exertions of the magistracy in this department of administration, we entertain the same feelings of alarm and despair which filled Howard, and which also filled the Government of India when it called in medical officers to the aid of demoralized and dying prisoners.

No less a person than Mr. Stephen, the legal member of the Vice-regal Legislative Council, appears to give evidence regarding the inattention of the Executive to the prisons of the country. He speaks of the past condition of the prison laws in his Statement of Reasons and Objects of the Prisons' Act, 1870. It is plain from Mr. Stephen's own remarks, that he was unacquainted with the prison system and the prison laws of India, and that his *first researches* into the quality of those laws were made in connection with the Act under review. He says, "The Bengal Regulation II of 1834, Section 7, authorizes the Governor General in Council to introduce a system of prison discipline, but there is no power to prescribe penalties for its infraction. * * * Moreover, the power in question clearly does not apply to the Punjab; there is some doubt as to its application to Oudh and the Central Provinces; and as regards Burma, it seems to extend only to the Arakan division." Now, the acquisition of a new province in this country is not after the manner of the occupation of new countries or colonies elsewhere. The latter are gradually acquired or peopled. A few emigrants with their families under a leader, land upon an uninhabited or thinly inhabited region, and slowly and gradually increase in numbers by fresh additions from the mother country. Government and laws are gradually introduced. In this country the process is different. A densely populated province is subdued by the force of arms, and the Supreme Government directly supplies a full and complete establishment for its general administration. From the very first in the newly acquired provinces, the magistracy have been a body of highly educated gentlemen, reinforced by a select party of military, who are believed to be the most intellectual officers of the local armies. Though wanting time to attend to the prisons of their

provinces, they have found leisure to enrich English and Oriental literature with laborious and valuable contributions, and they have in all departments of the administration, except the prisons, proved themselves enlightened, intelligent and intellectual. How comes it, then, that Mr. Stephen, at his *first examination* of the indigenous prison laws, found that they were of no force, or non-existent, in large tracts of newly-acquired British territory, and notably in the Punjab, the prisons of which might be supposed to have had the benefit of the services and thought of an intellectual and law-respecting magistracy. The Government of India ranks justly amongst the most liberal and enlightened of the Governments of the world, and would certainly have attended to representations on the subject from the magistracy, advanced members of whom are in fact the colleagues of the Government, if such representations had been made. We cannot construct any theory but one to explain the problem why, for twenty years and longer, an intellectual magistracy continued to administer in the prisons laws which did not exist, of which fact they were unaware. That theory is consistent with another fact that, up to within a year or two ago, there was no legal authority for removing prisoners from jail to give evidence before courts of law,—a discovery also made by the legal member, we believe. In connection with these extraordinary facts, we advert to another, which shows that, while administering laws which had no legal existence, the magistracy misunderstood laws in force throughout British India, in their application to the prisons. Since the employment of medical officers in the administration of prisons, and their investment with powers to carry out laws which were supposed to exist, the prisons were in fact legally removed from the control of the district magistracy, with respect to the laws which did exist, in the same manner and for the same reason as military cantonments. The district magistracy had no legal footing in the prisons placed under the charge of special magistrates—the medical officers. This fact was unknown to the magistracy; and it is an anomaly which, we observe, has been detected by Mr. Stephen, and removed by a simple provision in the Prisons' Act. These extraordinary facts and some others which we have no wish to rake up, can only be satisfactorily accounted for by one theory, as we have said, viz., that the magistracy were indifferent and careless about the prisons, neglected to study the prison laws, and were content to administer judicial conventionalisms in the prisons, on the few occasions on which they visited the interior of those pestilential institutions. Inattention in the past is not a guarantee of attention in the future.

We come now to the question of "possible abuse of authority," of which medical superintendents of prisons are said to be capable.

The instances of it which are whispered about, and which have come to our knowledge, are connected with the professional mode of dealing with illness which is feigned or suspected to be feigned, and with an alleged propensity to overwork prisoners by frequent resort to corporal punishment. With regard to feigned illness, we have consulted many medical works. The amount of medical literature on the subject is considerable; and the question has been thoroughly studied by the profession as a matter of business. What the profession is capable of achieving in collateral branches of study, may be judged by what it has done in the branch of medical jurisprudence. We venture to state that if the public were aware of the attention that has been paid to this department of medicine, and of the principles which guide medical officers in dealing with malingering, so far from condemnation, the public would render unqualified approval. The subject has in fact been elevated into an art and science, constructed and carried out into practice on sound principles of common sense, tempered with caution and humanity, but without a trace of sentimentality. The works on feigned diseases contain some few instances, which have occurred within a period of about a century, where mistakes have been made by medical men; and these are brought forward as beacons to show how necessary are precaution and carefulness in dealing with these cases; and the practical procedure recommended is so admirably devised that even in instances where the physician might be in error, the suspected patient suffers no detriment. Such a result is not attainable in the administration of justice; for is not an innocent man who is suspected of a crime, torn from his family, and lodged in a jail for a period, longer or shorter, until his innocence is proved in a court of justice? Society is so penetrated with the sense of the beneficence of medical science, that it too often forgets to take into account the simple fact that surgeons and physicians are not gods and infallible, and fails to extend over their errors of action and judgment that protection which it bestows by law and common consent on the graver errors of the magistracy. Such errors and the consequent misfortunes are not confined to medical superintendents of prisons; but likewise occur at the hands of the most eminent physicians. Not long ago a misfortune of this nature occurred in the practice of a most distinguished physician, whose recent death was deplored by the nation and by all civilized people—he who made the greatest of modern discoveries, which has taken the sting from pain and the curse from womanhood. It appears to us that the mistakes and errors of judgment inseparable from the difficulty of applying in practice the rules of a hypothetical science, have been taken or misrepresented as instances of abuse of power or authority. Cicero says, "*Nihil tam incredibile est quod non dicendo fiat probabile.*" We have no hesitation in asserting

that such imputations as these on medical superintendents are founded on a misapprehension of their motives. The extraordinary disposition of the medical profession to submit patiently, without complaint, to unmerited reproaches, is too often taken unfair advantage of. It is probably unknown that the principle elaborated by the medical profession for detecting and preventing feigned illness and fraudulent diseases has been borrowed by the English law, and applied by it to the prevention of frauds on the customs. We may hereafter revert to this subject when we arrive at the discussion of prison offences.

With regard to the second imputation of over-working prisoners and frequently flogging them, we deny the former altogether, and only admit the latter to a certain degree. We have already given an extract from Dr. Mouat's last annual report, in which he speaks of the increase of punishment under the administration of medical superintendents, and attributes it to the stricter enforcement of discipline, and to the desire to prevent the abuses inseparable from a system under which the magistrate in charge visited his jail once a week, and sometimes not for months together. The increase of punishment has originated, in fact, from the medical superintendent's sense of duty and desire to perform it. As we remarked before, the vices of the mal-administration which was permitted for a century, still linger in the prisons. In every prison, idleness had established itself as the *dustoor*, the immemorial usage or custom of the house: and the public will understand what that means amongst an Asiatic people, and how difficult it must be to eradicate it, and to substitute new habits of industry. The magistracy appear to have let the old custom very much alone; they were too considerate or had no leisure to interfere, and the prisoners were allowed to do pretty much as they liked. The medical superintendents, however, considered it their duty to enforce the sentence of hard labour directed by the law, despite old usages and customs; and they set about doing it with the aids that the humanity of government and the moderation of the law have placed at their command. And thus it happens that the small amount of punishment inflicted in the prisons when they were in charge of magistrates, was due to negligence of duty; and the increase of punishment under medical superintendents is due to their greater respect for the sentences of the law, and a stricter desire to do their duty. For this explanation we have the authority of Dr. Mouat, than whom no man is better qualified to give an opinion on the point.

The imputation of over-working prisoners is amply refuted by an excellent statement of the progress of prison industry, given at page 24 of the Punjab report. The perusal of this statement is sufficiently amusing. The most hard worked prisoners in a jail conducted by three magistrates, one of them of high military rank

realized in 1869 the modest income of Rs. 29-4-11 per head for the whole year. Below this moderately industrious prison comes a long series of jails, conducted directly by magistrates, or vicariously by medical officers acting as magisterial agents or deputies, whose industry is represented by small numerals dwindling down, by somewhat irregular arithmetical retrogression, to the minute sum of two annas and two pies per prisoner for the whole year; which latter amount represents the value in the market of the industry of a jail, containing a daily average number of 290 prisoners, and conducted by two magistrates! By the side of the column which contains the above particulars, is another still more unique. The above-noted sums represent the industry of individuals who were actually employed in the workshops. The column we now allude to, shows the theoretical earnings of every prisoner sentenced to hard labour, whether employed or not. The extremes of these earnings are Rs. 13-0-1 per prisoner for the whole year in the most industrious prison, and the alarming sum of one anna and four pies per prisoner for the whole year in the last jail! Such being the state of industry in the Punjab prisons, it is clear that there is no room for imputing to superintendents over-zeal in extracting work; nor does the present time seem to require that precautions should be provided against any contingency of the kind. A contrary opinion, however, seems to be prevalent in the Punjab, for interspersed through the report are certain observations by the Inspector General, which show that Dr. Gray felt himself under the necessity of affording assurance that the tasks allotted to the prisoners were not excessive and that they were not over-worked!

But although such imputations as these can hardly be said to be sincerely brought forward against medical superintendents, there can be no doubt that in many of the provincial jails, certain serious abuses or vices or misapplications of power and authority exist. Of these crowding is the chief. We have devoted much space in reproducing verbatim, as authentic data, Dr. Gray's account of the extent of crowding in the Punjab jails. Although this state of things cannot be approved of (and we believe it has caused much grief and dissatisfaction to the Government), we are distinctly of opinion that it is not illegal. There is no law which we are aware of which limits the number of prisoners in a jail, and thus none is infringed by the committal of an indefinite number to the same prison, even to the extent which Dr. Gray, a competent authority, states was "alarming" and "most dangerous." We are not, however, equally clear regarding another startling circumstance which Dr. Gray has noted in his report. One characteristic of the prison administration in the Punjab in 1869 is the great mortality, which is out of proportion

to the ordinary death-rate in a province which has a healthy and even enjoyable climate for more than half the year, and which produces two of the finest and most vigorous races in India, the Sikhs and Punjabis. The excessive mortality in that year is attributed by Dr. Gray (and apparently he is supported in his conclusions by the concurrent testimony of the prison medical officers) to three causes. First, to malaria, a mysterious cause, which he says is in operation inside the jails as over the country generally. Secondly, to over-crowding—and we have already referred to an outbreak of jail fever, which two medical officers attributed to this cause; and alluded incidentally to epidemics of contagious pleuro-pneumonia (which, if we mistake not, is a plague of cattle) having appeared in some jails. Thirdly, to the fact that “many prior to their incarceration had suffered from the combined attacks of want and fever, and were received into jail with broken-down constitutions, some in a dying state” (page 14.) It would appear that in the Punjab jail statements, “the prisoners who are in judicial lock-ups, distinct from jails” are not included (page 2), so that we conclude that some men in a dying state were actually committed to prison after trial and conviction. The pitying imagination is unable to conceive what criminal act men in a dying state were physically capable of committing, and how these unfortunates were able to undergo and survive the fatigue of a police prosecution and magisterial trial, before they were cast into jail. Although we feel certain that crowding in prisons is neither illegal nor contrary to judicial usage, we are doubtful whether such proceedings as subjecting “men in a dying state” to prosecution and trial, are permissible. Upon these data we may hereafter refer to a proposal, which has been made before, regarding the advisability of admitting persons into prison on application: but we merely remark here that for such occurrences as the above, medical superintendents of prisons are not responsible, and that it was due to their representations that these facts and statements have appeared in the Punjab prison report.

We are aware that the Legislature has made no provision for the voluntary admission into the prisons of starving and destitute men, without the qualification of a police prosecution and magisterial trial and committal. We know, however, that the Legislature has taken some steps towards preventing the over-crowding of prisons by enacting Act VI of 1864 or the Whipping Act, whereby offences of comparatively trivial nature are punishable without the committal to prison. In Bengal the Act is in operation and carried out; although we find Dr. Mouat complaining that it is worked with much irregularity in different districts, and that minor offenders are sent to prison for short periods, while those

who "by repeated convictions show that they belong to the habitually criminal classes" are whipped, and not sent to prison! In the Punjab prison report we find no allusion whatever to the Whipping Act, or why it was not carried out: whence we infer that Act VI of 1864 is a dead letter in the Punjab; and if such be the case, we may justly attribute to the abeyance of a beneficent law part causation of the crowded state of the jails, and the consequent mortality, as well as the release unconditionally of 1850 criminals (page 3 of the report) before expiry of their terms. We also gather from the numerical tables and observations given in page 28, that corporal punishment generally is disapproved in the Punjab. We cannot tell how far it is permissible for provincial opinions to overrule and keep in abeyance the operation of laws enacted after much deliberation by the highest authorities upon the nature of the morality prevalent amongst natives, and the circumstances of the country as to the provision of prison accommodation; but we cannot avoid believing that sentimentality or mistaken views of goodness and humanity are the main cause of the practical suppression of the Whipping Act: and that the magistracy thoughtlessly fill the jails to the detriment of the health and lives of the prisoners, because they fail to give due consideration to the reasons and objects of the Whipping Act.* The local governments, notably that of the North-West, and the Press generally, have repeatedly and strongly represented the necessity and the real humanity, under present circumstances, of enforcing the Whipping Act. In its abeyance the jails are crowded with prisoners beyond their capabilities for accommodation with safety to health and life.

Notwithstanding the considerations derived from past history and passing occurrences, there may be other and more pressing considerations unknown to us which may necessitate the re-employment of the magistracy, or rather require the withdrawal of medical officers from duties of a purely executive character. If the latter necessity be great and unavoidable, and not merely a prejudice, or, peradventure, an unnatural jealousy, we would urge the employment of military officers in their place in the management of jails. Military men are employed in England, with great advantage we understand, as Governors of prisons. Numbers of them in this country are in excess of the wants of the army and of the

* We even doubt in some instances whether so respectable a cause as mistaken views, or even, as we have heard said, a belief that whipping is of no use, forms the objection to carrying out the Whipping Act judi-

cially: for there are accounts abroad of the Whipping Act being carried out on villagers, chuprassis, policemen and others, extra-judicially, in the Punjab as well as elsewhere.

general administration, and suitable and useful employment is available for them in prison duties. But, should it be imperative to re-employ the magistracy exclusively, we earnestly urge the justice of affording society a guarantee that these gentlemen will not nominally and perfunctorily discharge their important prison duties, as heretofore. We invite the native press to join us in urging the desirability of granting such a guarantee. The subject of prisons may be considered as almost exclusively belonging to native society; and it is the natives who are chiefly interested in the question of the agency for the administration of prisons. We believe there is hardly a native family in the country (excluding the princes and aristocracy) which, within a period of twenty years, or at most of one generation, escapes the misfortune of having one or more of its members, or near connections, imprisoned. The question is thus one that penetrates to their domestic circles, and involves in too many cases the correlative consideration of bereavement, or moral corruption. The question, moreover, is of importance to the mercantile classes and the employers of labour. Throughout the country there is a cry of the scarcity and costliness of labour. Commercial enterprises, railway operations, public works and other undertakings are often retarded or embarrassed from the want of labourers. We have shown the influence which the lethally conducted prisons have had in the past of partially depopulating the country. Multitudes of the persons destroyed were not hardened criminals, but, on the contrary, there can be no question that many of them possessed qualities which endeared them to their friends, and which would have rendered them useful members of society, had they survived. Various offences which the law regards as criminal and for which it awards imprisonment, are not regarded as offences at all by the natives. The extent to which contagious diseases have spread from the prisons into the village population is unknown; but the probability is great, under the past and present condition of the law regarding prisons, that it has been considerable. A conflagration of jail fever, diphtheria, or pleuro-pneumonia, all deadly and contagious diseases, within the walls of a prison is constantly throwing out sparks, in the form of released prisoners, amongst the villages around; and it is improbable that the latter escape ignition. We repeat on the authority of HOWARD, that this subject is "*a national concern, of no small importance.*" For the above, and many other reasons, a guarantee for the proper performance of an important duty is desirable. Mere injunctions, circular orders, commands regarding signing names in a book, or the periodical writing of reports and opinions, are of no avail: all these things can be obeyed or accomplished

outside the jail. What is needed is something that will compel the magistracy to penetrate daily into the interior of prisons, and stay there for some hours in the performance of their important duties: something that will apply a stimulus to the consciences and exertions of these gentlemen which has heretofore been wanting.

ART. III.—THE FERINGHEES OF CHITTAGONG.

FEW people are aware of the important part which Chittagong played in the early history of European adventure in India. Situated at the mouth of the Megna, which rolls down in one vast stream the waters of the Ganges and Bráhmáputra—two of the largest rivers in the world, it commanded in early times almost the entire external trade of the province of Bengal. Its commercial prosperity, indeed, added to its natural advantages, gave it a political importance in those days which is not to be explained by the mere fact of its being a border district. Geographically, Chittagong may be said to belong to Burmah rather than to Bengal; but its possession by a hostile power would always cripple the trade and threaten the safety of the Eastern Districts. It was doubtless for this reason that, so far as we can learn from the very fragmentary history which has come down to us, Chittagong was from the very earliest times a bone of contention between the rulers of Bengal and the rulers of Arracan or Burmah. It was thus continually changing masters, being at one time attached to the independent kingdom of Tipperah, at another subject to the king of Arracan; to-day conquered by the Afghan kings of Bengal; to-morrow retaken by the petty princes of Ramu.

The earliest mention of any settlement at this place in European writers, is found in the chronicle of John de Barros,* who relates that one hundred years before the Portuguese visited Chittagong, a noble Arab arrived there from Aden, bringing with him 200 men. Seeing the state of the kingdom, he began to form ambitious projects of conquest. Dissimulating his intentions, he set himself up as a commercial agent, and on this pretext added to his followers a reinforcement of 300 Arabs,† thus raising his total force to 500 men. Having succeeded through the influence of the *Mandarijs*, who were the governors of the place, in procuring an introduction to the king of Bengal, he assisted that monarch in subduing the king of Orissa, his hereditary foe. For this service he was promoted to the command of the King's body-guard. Soon

* *Decad.* iv. liv. 9, cap. 2.

† These must be the Abyssinians mentioned by Stewart (*History of Bengal*, pp. 65-75.) It is not clear who is the 'noble Arab' referred to in the text. Barbek Shah (1458-74) was the first to introduce Abyssinians into the imperial service. Feroz Shah (1491-4) was the first Abyssinian king.

Ala-ud-din (1489-1520) was probably the only king who came from Arabia, and the facts mentioned in the text agree to some extent with his history, but the date is scarcely early enough. Faria y Souza says these events occurred about 50 years before the Portuguese discovered India. This would make the date about 1448.

afterwards he killed the king, and himself ascended the throne. The capital was at this time at Gouro (Gour).* Faria y Souza says of the kings of that time :—

“They observe no rule of inheritance from father to son, but even slaves sometimes obtain it by killing their master, and whoever holds it three days they look upon as established by divine providence. Thus it fell out that in 40 years’ space they had 13 kings successively. At the time when Martin Alfonso de Melo Jusarte was prisoner to Mahomet Xiath (Mahmud Shah), that king, who tyrannically held the crown, kept his court at Gouro in great apprehension of being deposed, but with such state that only his women amounted to the number of 10,000. Martin and the others who were prisoners with him, obtained success against the Patanas with whom he was at war.”

When once India had been discovered by the Portuguese, it was not long, we may be sure, before they found their way to the Bay of Bengal and Chittagong. The Arabs had doubtless traded there for many years. Its easy access and safe anchorage attracted the merchantmen of foreign nations, and won for it some years later the appellation of *Porto Grando*, in contradistinction to Satigam (or Satgong) on the other side of the Bay of Bengal.† In fact, as we have pointed out above, Chittagong had an importance in those days which at the present time it does not possess. All the earliest European writers on India mention two branches of the Ganges, on one of which was situated Chittagong and on the other Satgong near Hooghly. The principal route to the royal capital of Gour was probably originally up the Megna and the main stream of the Pudda. This route was comparatively safe and was commanded by Chittagong. The alternative route up the Bhagirati was, we imagine, of only secondary importance; though shorter and more expeditious, it was not so commodious for purposes of navigation; and it was probably only after the fall of Gour that the European settlements on the Hooghly began to attract the trade of Bengal from the eastern to the western corner of the Bay.

The earliest account which has come down to us of the connection of the Portuguese with the Chittagong coast, is a

* Faria y Souza says of this city that it was “seated on the banks of Ganges, three leagues in length, containing one million and 200,000 families and well fortified; along the streets which are wide and straight, rows of trees to shade the people which sometimes is in such numbers that some are trod to death.” (Steven’s

translation, 1694, vol. i, p. 416).

† Or more probably perhaps in contradistinction to *Porto Pequeno* or Pibley near Balasore. Samuel Purchas (1626) says, Bengal stretched “from the confines of the kingdom of Ramu or *Porto Grando* to Palmerine (Point Palmyras) ninety miles beyond *Porto Pequeno*.”

tragic narrative of a shipwreck which befell the crew of Martin Alfonso's vessel near Chakario. According to Pierre de Houdt, this occurred in 1527.* De Barros, who relates the circumstance at some length,† says that some fishermen who had promised to guide them to Chittagong, betrayed them and carried them to a city called Chakario, which was under the sway of Codovascam, a vassal of the king of Bengal‡ Codovascam employed them to fight his neighbours, and placed a high ransom on their release. He confined them in a city called Sorê, situated on the banks of a river eight leagues distant from the sea. Two ships of his navy having chanced to arrive in the river, Martin Alfonso and his companions made an attempt to escape; but it was unsuccessful, and the Brahmans who, probably in revenge, had vowed to sacrifice to their gods the handsomest Portuguese that should fall into their hands, murdered his nephew, Gonzale Vaz de Melo—"jeune homme d'une figure charmante et d'une très haute espérance"—before his eyes.

The captives were soon afterwards ransomed for 3,000 cruzados by a Persian named Coje Sabadim (Khâjeh Shihâb-ud-din), who sent them back to Goa with his cousin Coje Sukurula in 1529. The fact appears to be that Sabadim had a suit pending before Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, and wished to win his favour. Sabadim was a rich and influential trader at Chittagong, and had built a vessel after the Portuguese pattern, because Portuguese vessels were protected in those seas. But this circumstance had led to their being employed by native pirates, and so Ruy Vaz Pereira, the Captain-General of the Bengal fleet, to put a stop to the practice which gave the Portuguese a bad name, seized a galleon of Sabadim's, which was lying in the Chittagong harbour. Sabadim also wanted the Portuguese to aid him in effecting his escape to Ormuz, in return for which service he held out the promise of great advantages in the way of trade. The galleon was ultimately restored, and in 1534§ Nuno da Cunha sent Martin Alfonso de Mello with 200 men in five ships to Chittagong. The object of the expedition was to establish friendly relations with the king of Bengal and to obtain permission to erect a fortress and establish a factory at Chittagong. For this purpose presents were sent in the shape of horses, brocades, &c. Alfonso appears to have remained at Chittagong, sending an embassy with the presents to the king at Gour. Their reception was not so favourable as had been expected.

* Pierre de Houdt, *Histoire Générale des Voyages* (La Haye, 1747), vol. xxv, liv. 1, chap. 13.

† *Decad.* iv, liv. 2, cap. 8.

‡ Chakaria is a Police division of

the Chittagong District, opposite the island of Kootubdea (Qutbdeah.) Codovascam was one of the petty principalities of Arracan.

§ Faria y Souza says 1538.

The king was prejudiced against the Portuguese, mainly because amongst the presents were some boxes of rosewater which had been taken by a Portuguese corsair from an Arab merchantman and which were now identified, and he believed that they had merely come to spy out the land. Alfachan (Alfu Khan), a man of some influence, and Elche Valenciano, a convert to Islam, were however friendly.* The king therefore detained the embassy and sent a Guazil to Chittagong to seize Martin Alfonso and the rest by treachery. Meantime a dispute had arisen between Martin and the Custom House officers at Chittagong, and the Guazil took advantage of it to open communications with him. Ultimately, Martin and thirty out of forty of his men, who had been invited to a dinner by the Guazil, were made prisoners and forwarded to Gour.† Faria y Souza goes on to say that Antony de Sylva Meneses was sent by the Viceroy (Nuno da Cunha) with 350 men in nine vessels to try and effect the ransom of the prisoners, with the assistance of Coje Sabadim, who had been the author of the expedition—a ship of his richly laden being detained as security for his fair proceedings therein. “Sylva from Chatigam sent the king the Governor’s letter and a present. The answer being long a-coming, Sylva thought the king had secured the messenger, and so rashly fell upon and burnt Chatigam and other places. As he was spreading sail, the messenger came with the king’s answer, who, knowing what Antony had done, kept the prisoners more hardly.”

The king at this time was Mahmud Shah, the last of the independent kings of Bengal, and Faria y Souza gives an interesting account of his fall—the circumstances of which led to the better treatment and ultimate release of the Portuguese captives. Xercham (Sher Khan), he says, and his brother Hedelee Cham (Adil Khan)‡ deserted from the Mughal to the king of Bengal, by whom they were promoted to great honour. Sher Khan, however, availed himself of his position to revenge the death of the child whom Mahmud had slain to procure the throne.§ Oaum the Mogol (Humayun) also invaded Bengal at this time to punish Sher Khan for his rebellion. Driven to extremities, Mahmud Shah implored the aid of the Portuguese, and consulted with Martin Alfonso as to the plan of defence. Meanwhile James Rabelo arrived with three ships sent by Nuno da Cunha to demand the release of the pri-

* Faria y Souza says that some Moors and a Gentil reputed as a saint and to be 200 years of age, dissuaded the king from murdering the embassy. But Faria y Souza’s account is merely an abridgment of De Barros through-

out.

† *Asia de Barros. Dec. iv. liv. 9, cap. 4.*

‡ Adil Khan was the son, not the brother, of Shere Khan.

§ Compare Stewart, *Hist.*, p. 76.

soners. The king then gave up twenty-two of them on promise of further assistance. Meantime Sher Khan had marched to gain "a pass upon the foot of Gorii which is where the Ganges enters Bengala."* Mahmud sent some of his vessels and the Portuguese to stop the passage of the river. The Portuguese wrought miracles of valour, and the king, though defeated, was so pleased with their achievements that he gave them permission to leave India, five only being retained as a hostage for the succour which was expected from Goa. This succour arrived in nine vessels commanded by Vasco Perez de Sampayo, but finding that Sher Khan had taken and plundered Gour and that Mahmud had been killed, he "acted nothing."

Chittagong is mentioned by Jean Bernouilli,† whose ideas as to the geography of that part of the world seem to us at the present day rather confused. He says:—"Les premiers voyageurs Européens font mention de deux ports de Bengale à deux embouchures du Gange—le grand et le petit: le premier à l'Est, où est la ville de Schatigam; le second à l'Ouest appelé Satigam, Catigan, &c., à 80 cent lieux de l'autre. La province où se trouve le port de l'Ouest est nommé Satigam, ancienne Kande-can. Elle renferme Satigan, Hougli, Schandernagor, Calcutta, &c., situées sur le petit Gange le Bagrati."

His suggestion as to the derivation of the name has at least the merit of originality.

"Au reste, j'avoue que Satigan et Schatigam, designant des ports, peuvent être le même nom, donné par les premiers Arabes (*Schutt*—bord†, extrémité; *Gang*—du Gange) qui auront navigué aux deux embouchures de ce fleuve."

The same author thus more particularly describes the town of Chittagong:—"Tschatigan (ou Schatigan) est une ville assise sur les collines, dont la juridiction appartenoit ci-devant aux Portugais. Elle est située sur le bras le plus oriental du grand Gange, bras que les gens du pays appellent Caranpoula§. On donne à cette ville 5 milles en longueur. Elle a un Fort considérable, qui sous le règne d'Aurungzebe fut élevé au Roi d'Arracan par le gouverneur de la province de Bengale. Il est assis sur une hauteur au milieu de la ville."

* The passes of Teringurry (Taliágarhí) and Sikligully (Sikligallí, near Rájmahál), mentioned by Stewart, must be meant.

† *Description Historique*, &c. vol. ii, part 2, p. 408.

‡ He means the Arabic *Shat*, delta, as in *Shat-el-Arab*. For the

derivation of Chittagong and Karnafoola, see *Asiat. Research*. xiv, p. 444.

§ M. Bernouilli would be puzzled to discover the point of junction of the Karnafoola with any branch of the Ganges.

At the beginning of the 17th century, Chittagong and the neighbourhood became notorious for the exploits of a Portuguese corsair, named Sebastian Gonzales Tibao. This man, says Faria y Souza, was of obscure birth. He embarked for India in 1605, and employed himself by trading in salt between Bengal and Dianga, a great port on the Arracan coast. At that time Philip de Brito & Nicote held Siriam, and wished to possess Dianga. He sent his son with an embassy for the purpose, but the king of Arracan, believing that the Portuguese wished to deprive him of his kingdom, treacherously invited the embassy to his court and murdered them. His fury then fell upon the inhabitants of Dianga; and nine or ten vessels only escaped, one of which was that of Gonzales. This happened in 1607.*

About the same time Futteh Khan, the Moor who had been left in charge of the island of Sundeeep by Emanuel de Mattos the Governor, on hearing of his death, determined to make himself master of the island, and to this end murdered all the Portuguese and native Christians with their wives and children. Gonzales and the rest of the fugitives from Dianga thus found themselves outlawed, and were driven to subsist by piracy.†

A somewhat different account of these events is found in Stewart's *History of Bengal*, which also notices the condition of the Portuguese at the time, and their relations with the neighbouring states. He explains that the Portuguese of Chittagong, by their lawless and predatory habits, had provoked the resentment both of the Muhammadans and the king of Arracan: and that this was the cause of the severities inflicted upon them. This is not mentioned by the Portuguese historian.‡

Stewart says§ that in 1608, Islam Khan, the Governor of Bengal, was compelled, on account of the Portuguese, to transfer the seat of his government from Rajmahal to Dacca. The circumstances, he says, were these. At the end of the 16th century the Portuguese settled in Chittagong. Owing to their turbulent conduct, the Raja of Arracan in 1607 determined to extirpate them. Many were put to death; others escaped to the islands at the mouth of the Ganges, where they lived by piracy. Futteh Khan, the Mughal

* Faria y Souza, vol. iii, p. 154.

† Futteh Khan inscribed on his banners "Futteh Khan, by the grace of God Lord of Sundeeep, shedder of Christian blood and destroyer of the Portuguese nation."

‡ From the *Memoirs of Jahāngir* (Sayyid Ahmad's ed. p. 102) it would seem that the transfer of the capital was owing to the turbulence of the

Afghans under Osman, who after their expulsion from Orissa had received zemindaris east of Dacca. One of Islam Khan's first acts was to attack Osmán, who was defeated and slain (9th Muharram 1021) somewhere east of Dacca, and not in Orissa, as stated by Stewart.

§ *History of Bengal*, p. 131.

Governor of Sundeeep, ordered all the Portuguese and other Christians on the island to be put to death. He then embarked 600 soldiers in 40 vessels, and went in pursuit of the pirates. Off Dakhan Shahbazpur he attacked them, but he was killed and all his fleet captured. The Portuguese forthwith elected a common sailor, Sebastian Gonzales, as their chief.* In 1609 the whole Portuguese force, consisting of 400 men, landed at Sundeeep. Futteh Khan's brother, with the Muhammadan troops, threw himself into a small fort where he defended himself for some time. The Hindu inhabitants remained neutral. A Spanish ship having by chance arrived, the fort was captured and the garrison put to the sword. A thousand Muhammadans were butchered in cold blood in revenge for the Portuguese murdered by Futteh Khan.

In a short time Gonzales had 1,000 Portuguese, 2,000 Indian soldiers, 200 cavalry, and 80 armed vessels. He seized on the islands of Shahbazpur and Patelbanga which belonged to the raja of Batecala.† He assisted Anaporam, brother of the king of Arracan, who had been obliged to flee the country for some misdemeanour,‡ and who promised Gonzales a large sum of money and his sister in marriage. The Mughls, however, gave his ships such a warm reception that they returned without being able to restore Anaporam. The Mugh's sister became a Christian, and was married to Gonzales. The prince soon after died, it is supposed by poison, and his wealth fell to Gonzales.

In 1610 the Raja of Arracan determined on invading Bengal, and entered into terms with the Portuguese. Anaporam's widow was married to the Governor§ of Chittagong. The Raja was to proceed with an army by land; the Portuguese in a fleet by sea.

* Faria y Souza says they elected Stephen Palmeyro, who, however, refused to command such wicked people, and nominated Gonzales as his substitute.

† This is probably the same as Bacola or Boglá (Ismáílpur, Srírámpúr and Adilpúr). Purchas says, "From Chatigan in Bengala I went to Bacola, the king whereof is a Gentile; thence to Senapore and after to Simergan (Sunnárganw)." "Its capital was situated in pergunnah Chunderdeep in Backergunge, and was described by Fitch in 1586." (Taylor's *Topography and Statistics of Dacca*, p. 69.) Fitch says:—"Five leagues from Serrepore was the city of Sinnergan,

whose king was Isacan, and he is chief of all the other kings and is a great friend to all Christians." The king of Serrepore was called Chowdrie, and the people were all rebels against the king Zebaldim Echebar. *Hackluyt's Voyages*, ii, p. 257-8.

Sunnárganw was the ancient Hindu capital of Eastern Bengal, twenty miles s. e. of Dacca.

‡ Faria y Souza says he refused to give the king an elephant he wanted, and so the king raised an army and drove him out of the country.

§ Faria y Souza calls him the king of Chittagong.

The Arracan fleet was put under the orders of Gonzales, on his giving his nephew as a hostage. The conquests were to be equally divided. Luckipore and Bulloah* fell into their hands, but as soon as the Mugh troops attacked the Arracanese, they defeated them and pursued them nearly to Chittagong. It was on account of these invasions, Stewart remarks, that Islam Khan removed his capital to Dacca.

After the retreat of the Raja of Arracan and his army,† Gonzales invited the captains of the Arracan fleet on board his ship, when he put them all to death, took possession of the fleet, and returned to Sundeeep.

He then proceeded to plunder the coast of Arracan, and even ventured to attack the capital. Being repulsed, however, he submitted himself to the Viceroy of Goa, Don Hierome de Azvedo, and urged him to annex Arracan. The Viceroy fitted out an expedition under Don Francis de Meneses, and on the 3rd October 1615, it entered the river of Arracan. Some Dutch vessels assisted the Mugh. In the middle of November, Gonzales appeared with 50 vessels of various sizes, and on the 15th a general fight took place. Don Francis and 200 Portuguese were slain, and Gonzales had to retire to Sundeeep. The Portuguese officers returned to Goa, and many of the pirates accompanied them. Gonzales was abandoned by his followers, and in 1616 the Mugh. invaded Sundeeep, defeated him, and took possession of the island.

In 1621 when Shahjahan invaded the province of Bengal, part of the army of the Viceroy Ibrahim Khan was at the time engaged in Chittagong against the Mugh.‡

During the government of Islam Khan Murshedy, Viceroy of Bengal, A.D. 1638, Mahat Ray, the Mugh Chief of Chittagong, having incurred the displeasure of the Raja of Arracan, sought the protection of the Emperor Sháhjahán. He acknowledged himself a vassal of the Empire to Islam Khan at Dacca. "This is the first account we have of the conquest or surrender of Chittagong to the Mughals, although it is included as part of the imperial dominions in the *Ayeen Akberry*. Its present Muhammadan name of Islamabad corroborates the circumstance above related; though some historians have doubted whether it obtained that name previous to its conquest twenty-eight years subsequent

* Now the chief civil station of the Noakhali District in the Chittagong Division.

† Stewart, p. 137. Faria y Souza distinctly states that the Raja's defeat was mainly the consequence of trea-

chery on the part of Gonzales, who allowed the enemy to cross the rivers, and destroyed the Arracan fleet before the defeat of the army.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 143.

to this event.”* The author goes on to say that in all probability Chittagong was formerly held by one of the Afghan kings of Bengal; that it was probably taken possession of by the prince of Arracan, during the contests between the Afghans and Mughals, and was not again annexed to the Empire till the government of Shaista Khan.†

The physician and traveller François Bernier gives a spirited account of the rise and fall of the Portuguese pirates of Chittagong, in his *Evénemens particuliers des Etats du Mogol*. The following is a translation :—

“For many years there have always been Portuguese in the kingdom of *Rukan* (Arracan) or *Mog*, and with them a great number of their *Mestices*‡ or Christian slaves and other *Français* (Feringhees) gathered together from all parts. This was the retreat of fugitives from Goa, Ceilan, Cochin, Malacca, and all the other places once occupied by the Portuguese in the Indies. Those who had fled their convent, who had married twice or three times, assassins—in a word, outlaws and ruffians (*les gens de sac et de corde*), were here welcomed and held in repute, and led a detestable life, utterly unworthy of Christians, going so far as to massacre and poison each other with impunity, and to assassinate their own priests, who were often no better than themselves. The king of Rakan, in perpetual terror of the Mughal, kept these people for the defence of his frontier at a port called *Chatigon*, assigning them lands, and letting them live and follow their own devices. Their ordinary pursuit and occupation was theft and piracy. With small and light half-galleys (*demi-gaïères*) called *galeasses*, they did nothing but sweep the sea on this side; and entering all rivers, canals, and arms of the Ganges, and passing between the islands of Lower

* *Ibid*, p. 155. The name was given to Chittagong by Aurangzeb himself. In the *Ain*, Chátgám is called a *Sirkar* consisting of seven mahals, yielding a revenue of 11,424,310 Dáms (40 Dáms=1 Rupee):—1. Tálgánw. 2. Chatgánw. 3. Deogánw. 4. Sálfmán or Shaikhpur. 5. The Salt Revenue (737,520 Dáms), which counted as a mahal. 6. Sahwá. 7. Nawápará. It was not subjected, however, before the time of Aurangzeb. In the reign of Sháhjahán, it was not included in Bengal, and in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign (3rd year) Bahluwá (Bhulloah) is mentioned as a frontier town of the Mughal empire. When Shujá was driven from

Bengal, there was a *hakim* stationed in Chátgám, who acted under the king of Rákhang (i.e., Arracan).

Abulfazl says of Chatgam :—“It is a large town situated on the coast. Round about it are jungles. People look upon it as an important harbour. There are Christians and others there.”

† Viceroy of Bengal under Aurangzeb, from 1663 to 1689. He resided at Dacca.

‡ “The Portugals many of them are married with Indian women, and their Posteritie are called *Mesticos*, and in the third degree, differ nothing in colour and fashion from naturale Indians.” Purchas's *Pilgrimage*.

"Bengal—often even penetrating as far as forty or fifty leagues into the interior—they surprised and carried off whole villages, and harried the poor gentiles and other inhabitants of this quarter at their assemblies, their markets, their festivals and weddings, seizing as slaves both men and women, small and great, perpetrating strange cruelties, and burning all that they could not carry away. It is owing to this that at the present day are seen so many lovely but deserted isles at the mouth of the Ganges, once thickly populated, but now infested only by savage beasts, principally tigers.*

"Now this is what they did with the great number of slaves thus taken on all sides. They even had the boldness and effrontery to come and sell the old people they knew not what to do with in their own country;—those who had escaped by flying into the woods to-day endeavouring to buy back their fathers and mothers, whom they had seen carried off yesterday. All the rest they (the Portuguese) kept for their service, to make rowers of, and Christians like themselves,—educating them in theft, murder and carnage; or else they would sell them to the Portuguese of Goa, of Ceylon, of St. Thomas and other places, and even to those who were living at Hooghly in Bengal. It was near the Isle of Galles near Cape das Palmas that this fair traffic was carried on. These pirates there awaited the Portuguese on their passage, who bought whole cargoes at a very cheap rate (as indeed has been done by other Europeans since the downfall of the Portuguese), these infamous scoundrels (*cette infâme canaille*) boldly vaunting that they made more Christians in a year than all the Missionaries of India in ten — a strange manner truly of spreading Christianity!"

Bernier goes on to say that these pirates were the cause of the demolition of the Catholic Church at Agra, and the removal and enslavement of the Christians at Hooghly by Shahjahán, who suspected them of conniving at the proceedings of the marauders. He continues:—"These same pirates again, some time before the destruction of Hooghly, offered to place the whole kingdom of Rakan in the hands of the Viceroy of Goa for the king of Portugal; but he refused the offer, through arrogance and jealousy it is

* It is the fashion to attribute the present condition of the Sundarbans to the devastations of the Mughls; but this is probably true only of a very limited area in Backerganj. It was pointed out, with much force as we think, in vol. xxxi of this *Review*, that the real cause of the desolation of the Western Sun-

darbans is the great change which has been going on in the river system of the delta, sufficient proof of which Mr. Westland has given in his late Report on Jessore (Part I, chap. 2). Of course the Reviewer's remarks upon storm-waves were written before the disastrous experience of 1864.

"said, and would not send the assistance demanded by a certain "*Bastian Consalve* (Sebastian Gonzales) who had made himself "chief of these people, and had become so powerful and important that he had married one of the king's daughters*—not "willing that a man of such low birth as this Bastian Consalve "should accomplish so great an enterprise (*cût fait un si grand coup*).† It may, however, be observed *en passant* that this is no "matter of surprise. The Portuguese in India have lost other "opportunities by a similar line of conduct, as in Japan, Pegu, "Ethiopia and other places. One might almost say that it is "owing to this policy, added perhaps to the just punishment of God "—as indeed they themselves frankly avow—that they have become the prey of their enemies, and have fallen so low in India "that I know not whether they will ever rise again; notwithstanding that in former days, before they were corrupted by vice "and steeped in crime as they have since become, they made themselves feared by all. It was then nothing but gallantry, generosity, zeal for Christianity, grand exploits and immense wealth—"all the rulers of India seeking their friendship.

"It was again these same pirates who at this time took possession of the island of Sundeeep, an advantageous post commanding part of the mouth of the Ganges; in which a "certain notorious monk of St. Augustine, named Fra Joan, "acted the petty sovereign for several years, having managed, "God knows how, to get rid of the commandant of the place."‡

* * * * * "Finally these are the men "who for so many years have been a perpetual annoyance (*ont perpétuellement donné de l'exercice*) to the great Mughal in "Bengal, compelling him always to maintain numerous bodies "of guards in all directions in the channels, a strong militia, and "a small naval armament of galliasses to oppose their cruisers; "and who, notwithstanding all this, have not ceased to make

* The king's sister, according to Stewart. See above.

† M. Bernier is wrong in his facts here, at least according to Faria y Souza. The Viceroy did send an expedition which failed, and resulted ultimately in the ruin of Sebastian Gonzales.

‡ "Sundeeep is described by the Venetian traveller Cæsar Frederick, about the year 1565, as one of the most fertile places in the country, as being densely peopled and well cultivated. He mentions the extraordinary cheapness of pro-

visions here, and states that 200 ships were laden yearly with salt, and that such was the abundance of materials for ship-building in this country that the Sultan of Constantinople found it cheaper to have his vessels built here than at Alexandria. Herbert also, about 80 years afterwards, bears testimony to the great fertility of this island, which he designates as one of the fairest and most fruitful spots in all India." Taylor's *Topography and Statistics of Dacca*, p. 70.

“ frequent and strange ravages, and to penetrate into the country as
“ I have already said, laughing at all this army of Mughals, having
“ become so bold and so expert in the use of arms and in navigating these galliasses, that four or five of their vessels would not
“ hesitate to attack fourteen or fifteen of those of the Mughal,—
“ destroying, taking or sinking them, and coming off with flying
“ colours (*et effectivement en venoient à bout*).

“ Upon these pirates Shaista Khan first cast his eyes when he
“ came to Bengal. He formed the resolution of delivering the
“ country from this pest of men who had devastated it for so long,
“ his intention being afterwards to pass over and attack the king of
“ Rakan at his leisure, according to the orders of Aurangzeb.

“ As he knew that it was impossible to transport either cavalry
“ or infantry from Bengal into Rakan by land, on account of
“ the number of rivers and canals on the frontier, and that moreover these pirates of Chatigon whom I have just mentioned,
“ would be powerful enough to prevent his transporting them
“ by sea, he determined to interest the Dutch in his design.
“ He sent a sort of ambassador to Batavia, empowering him to
“ treat on certain conditions with the general of that colony
“ for the joint occupation of the whole kingdom of Rakan, as
“ Shah Abbas of Ormuz had done before with the English.
“ The general of Batavia, who saw that the thing was possible, that it would be a means of lowering yet more the
“ name of the Portuguese in India, and that great advantage would
“ accrue therefrom to the Company, despatched two vessels of war
“ to Bengal, in order to facilitate the transport of the Mughal
“ troops against the pirates. But see what Shaista Khan did before
“ the ships of war arrived. He prepared a great number of these
“ galliasses and several large ships to carry the troops, threatened
“ the pirates with ruin and utter annihilation, told them of the
“ designs of Aurangzeb upon Rakan; adding that a powerful
“ army of Dutch was close at hand, and recommending them to
“ take thought for themselves and their families. He offered
“ them very good terms if they would leave the service
“ of the king of Rakan and enter that of Aurangzeb, promising them as much land as they wanted in Bengal, and
“ double their present pay. It is not certain whether these threats
“ and promises made an impression on them, or whether it was
“ not rather a stroke of luck, they having recently assassinated
“ one of the principal officers of the king of Rakan, and dreading
“ punishment at his hands. But, however that may be, they fell
“ into the trap, and were one day seized with so violent a panic
“ that they suddenly threw themselves on board forty or fifty
“ of their galeasses, and set sail for Bengal in such a hurry that

"they scarcely had time to embark their wives and children and their most precious effects.

"Shaista Khan received them with open arms, overwhelmed them with favours (*leur fit mille caresses*), placed their families in Dacca,* and gave them very considerable pay. Without giving them time to cool, he made them join his entire army in the attack and capture of the isle of Sundeeep, which had fallen into the hands of the king of Rakan, and passed from thence with all his army, cavalry and infantry, to Chatigon (A.D. 1666).

"Meantime the two Dutch men-of-war arrived, but Shaista Khan, who thought that he could now accomplish his design without them, declined their aid with thanks (*les remercia*). "I saw these vessels in Bengal and the commanders also, who were not best pleased with the thanks or the liberality of Shaista Khan. As for the pirates, now they and their wives are in his power without hope of ever being able to re-establish themselves at Chatigon, and that he has no further need of their services, he ridicules all the grand promises he made, and treats them, not perhaps as he ought, but as they richly deserve; leaving them whole months without pay, and without considering them as anything but traitors and scoundrels (*infâmes*), who were not to be trusted, having basely abandoned him whose salt they had eaten so many years (*i.e.*, the king of Arracan). And this is how Shaista Khan put an end to this *canaille*, which, as I have said, has ruined and depopulated the whole of Lower Bengal."†

In 1666, Stewart says, Hoosein Beg,‡ commander of the Mughal fleet under Shaista Khan, after capturing Sundeeep, offered the Portuguese terms if they would desert from the king of Arracan.

* At Feringhee Bazar, about 16 miles below Dacca.—*Stewart*.

† The same author mentions (*Voyages*, vol. i. p. 149—150) that when Sultan Shujah was forced by his brother Aurangzeb to take refuge in Dacca (*la dernière ville de Bengale, sur le bord de la mer*), he sent his son Sultan Banque to the king of Arracan asking for ships to take him to Mecca. Sultan Banque returned with a number of half-galleys called *galhrasses*, manned by Portuguese from Chittagong in the service of the king of Arracan. These Portuguese, it is said, robbed the unfortunate Shah Shujah of his jewels on the voyage. Shujah went, not to

Mecca but to Arracan, and Elphinstone says that he and his family were there made away with. (*Hist.* vol. ii., p. 449). The *'A'lamgir-námah* mentions several times Sultán Zaiuddin, Shujáh's eldest son, as having negotiated with the Arracan Rája. The term 'Sultan Banque' may mean *Sultán Bang*, *i.e.*, the Bengal Sultán. The Delhi princes often had nicknames. One of Akbar's sons was nicknamed *Pahári*, because he was born on the Fathpúr Sikrí hill. Zaiuddin was born (1049) at Rajmahál, the capital of *Banga-desh*.

‡ This is wrong. The commander's name was Ibn Husain.

They agreed to his proposals. On the Raja of Arracan hearing of it, he determined on killing them all. The Portuguese hurried on board their boats, and set sail for Sundeeep. They were well received by the general, and lands were assigned them at Feringhee Bazar near Dacca. At Commorea (about 16 miles north of Chittagong) the Mughals were attacked by the Arracan fleet which consisted of 300 armed vessels. The latter were repulsed, owing principally to the assistance rendered by the Portuguese. Chittagong was then laid siege to and captured: 200 Mughls were made captive and sold as slaves; 1,223 cannon and large quantities of stores were seized. Omeid Khan, who commanded the Mughal army which had advanced along the coast, called the place Islamabad.*

The history of this expedition is thus related in the *Alamgir-namah*.† The cause of the war is stated to have been the continual invasions of the Mugs, or Arracanese, to whom Chittagong belonged. At one time they penetrated even to the neighbourhood of Jahángirnagar (Dacca).

"The Governor of Bengal (Shaistah Khan) represented the invasions of the Mugs to Aurangzeb, who thereupon gave orders to conquer Chittagong. The Thánah Nawákháílí, which lies on the other side of Sangrángarh (Alamgírnagar), Bahluwah‡ and Jugdiah, near the ocean, was the frontier thánah of the empire, and had always been held by a garrison since the time of Ibráhim Khan Fath-jang§. The Governor now thought it necessary to strengthen it.|| In the beginning of *Safar*, 1076 (August 1665) the Nawáb therefore sent one of his men of the name of Sa'íd, an Afghán, to Nawákháílí with 500 sharp-shooters and several boats. Sangrángarh also was fortified, and Muhammad Sharíf, Faujdár of Húglí, was sent there with 500 sharp-shooters and 1,000 matbblockmen. Twenty guns also, large and small, with a store of ammunition, were despatched. Muhammad Beg Abákash and Abul Husain, a Jama'dár of the Nawáb, were ordered to pass up and down the river with the Sripúr boats between Sripúr and Sangrángarh, and to see that the embankments were properly closed, so that the communication between the capital and the frontier thánahs might not be interrupted.

* Stewart, p. 187-9

† Calcutta Edition, p. 940.

‡ *Bahluwah*, on our maps Bulloah.

§ Governor of Bengal under Jahángír, about 1620, A.D.

|| Stewart (p. 187) says that "Hussen Beg (i.e., Ibn Husain) took by storm the forts of Jugdea and

Alumgeernagar, which were situated at the mouth of the river and had been for some time in possession of the Raja." This must be a mistake. These forts were all along imperial thanahs. Forts were also constructed at Munshiganj and at Hajiganj near Narainganj.

The zamindár of Sondíp at that time was Dilawar, a man who to all appearance was on the side of the emperor, though in reality he took the part of the Mugs. He received orders to assist Abul Husain in his river-watch ; but as he refused to come, Abul Husain landed in Sondíp, defeated him, and besieged him in a fort to which he fled. The fort was taken, and Diláwar arrested. But he managed to escape and withdrew to the jungles, where he again collected men. In a second engagement he received two wounds, but fled again. About that time a party of Mugs appeared on Sondíp Isle, and Abul Husain thought it wise to sail to Nawákhálí. The Náwáb therefore ordered Ibn Husain, dároghah of the fleet, Jamál Khan, Saffandáz Khan, Qarawul Khan, Muhammad Beg, and other officers, to conquer Sondíp, and gave them 1,500 foot and 400 horse, and increased Abul Husain's watch-fleet. This strong detachment occupied Sondíp in the middle of Jumáda II (December 1665). Several forts were taken, and Sharif, Dilawar's son, was made a prisoner. Dilawar himself was at last caught and sent to the Nawáb under the charge of the zamindár Munawwar.

An officer of the name of Abdul Karím Khan was appointed to hold Sondíp with 1,000 men, and the others received orders to hold themselves in readiness to join the main army for the conquest of Chittagong.

But as the Portuguese in Chittagong were on the side of the Arracanese, the Nawáb thought that it would be advantageous to win them over by promises, and accordingly asked the Portuguese in Bengal to transmit certain letters to their co-religionists in Chittagong. Several of these letters were intercepted by Kirám Kibrá, a Mug, whom the Raja of Arracan had sent on a plundering expedition to Sondíp, and were handed over to the Raja with the message that the Portuguese could not be relied on, and that they ought to be transferred from Chittagong to some place in the interior of Arracan. This they would not submit to, and after defending themselves for some time, they left Chittagong with their ships and sailed for Bengal. They arrived on the 21st Jumada II (18th December 1665) at Nawákhálí.

Farhád Khán, thánahdár of Bahluwah, sent several of the principal men of the Portuguese to the Nawáb, who received them most graciously and assisted them from public as well as private funds.

On the 27th Jumada II (24th December 1665) Buzurg Umed Khán, son of the Nawáb, with 2,000 troopers from his contingent, Sayyid Ikhtisám Khán Bárha, Sabal Sing Sisodiah, Miyánah Khán, Karan Kachhí and several other Mansabdárs, as also the troops who had before been appointed to accompany Askar Khán to Kúch Bihár, were ordered to march to Chittagong by land. At the same time Farhád Khán, thánahdar of Bahluwah, received

orders to sail together with Ibn-i-Husain, the *dároghah* of the fleet, the zamindár Munawwar, and others, towards Chittagong. Captain Moore* also, the chief officer of the fugitive Portuguese from Chittagong, eagerly joined the expedition. Kamál, son of the former zamindár (Rája) of Arracan, whom his brother, the present Rája, had dispossessed and forced to take refuge with the late Emperor (Shábjahán), collected the Mugs who had settled at Dacca, and joined the army, on the Nawáb's promise to restore him. Nor did the Nawáb neglect to send by a Mug a letter to the Governor of Chittagong, in which he held out promises of reward if he would join the cause of the Imperialists.

After the troops from Nawákhálí had joined Farhád Khán, he divided his corps into two parts: one was to go under him and Mír Murtazá by land; the other part, under Ibn Husain, Muhammad Beg Ibábash and the zamindár Munawwar, was to go by sea.

Farhád and the Murtazá set out on the 16th Rajab (2nd January 1666) from Nawákhálí for Jugdiah accompanied by a party of hatchet-bearers to cut down the jungle, and Ibn Husain also left with his squadron. On the 18th Farhád crossed the P'haní River,† moved rapidly southwards, and on the 24th (10th January 1666) pitched his camp near a tank, which is a day's journey distant from Chittagong, waiting for the arrival of the main army under Buzurg Umed Khan. The latter crossed the P'haní River on the 21st Rajab (7th January), and moving cautiously forward, arrived on the 25th at a place which was 8 *kos* distant from Farhád's camp, and 10 *kos* from the Fort of Chittagong. The fleet in the meantime had arrived before Dúmariah,‡ a dependency of Chittagong about 20 *kos* distant from Buzurg Umed's camp. On the 27th (13th January) the Arracanese attacked the fleet. Ibn Husain defeated them, and pursuing them with several light ships, captured 10 *ghrábs* and 3 *halyahs*.§ In the meantime the powerful fleet of the Arracanese appeared. After some fighting they retreated, and were pursued by Ibn Husain as far as the Karanphúlí River, which however he did not enter.

* Europeans are rarely called by their names in the Muhammadan historians. Older examples are to be found in the *Akbarnamah*, as Radalf, Padre Rudolpho; and Par-tab (§), the name of the Portuguese Governor of Hágli in 1581. A Latin word of the Portuguese liturgy has even found its way into Muhammadan historians—the term *kanábalán*, the Latin *cunabula*, representations

in wax of the birth of Christ at Bethlehem showing the manger (*cunabula*) and the shepherds in the field, which the Portuguese used to exhibit at Christmas in Agra and Lahor.

† Called on our maps the Fenny River.

‡ A mistake, probably, for *Komarrah*.

§ Kinds of ships.

The success of the imperial fleet being reported to Buzurg Umed Khán, he ordered Farhád Khán to march to the coast to assist the ships. As soon as this movement was executed, Ibn Husain entered the Karanphúlí river where the hostile fleet was. The fight which ensued lasted till noon, and ended in the complete discomfiture of the Arracanese, of whom a great number were killed or drowned or taken prisoners. After this victory Ibn Husain remained in the Karanphúlí river below the fort of Chittagong. Several Portuguese who had remained in Chittagong, and others who had come from the interior of Arracan to their assistance, now waited on Ibn Husain. Captain Moore distinguished himself greatly, and contributed not a little to the success of the Imperialists.

On the following day (14th January 1666), Buzurg Umed Khán arrived with the main army before the fort of Chittagong. The siege was forthwith commenced; but on the second day, *i.e.*, the last day of the month of Rajab (16th January), the town capitulated. The fort which is very strong, the whole district of Chittagong, and all guns and ships, were taken possession of. The Governor of Chittagong, who was the son of the uncle of the Raja of Arracan, was seized with his son and relations, some 350 men in all; the captured war-boats numbered 132; there were 1,026 brass and iron guns, and numberless rifles and pistols, as also a large quantity of lead and powder, and other war material, and three elephants. A great number of imperial subjects, who on former occasions had been carried off by the Arracanese were set at liberty.

Buzurg Umed Khán sent the prisoners to the Nawáb, and after fixing his residence at Chittagong, occupied himself with the financial settlement of the district. According to custom, thanahs were erected in several places. Miyánah Khán was sent to the north of Chittagong with a detachment, and received orders to do everything to conciliate the natives; Táji Miyánah was told off to guard the roads between Chittagong and the Phaní River; and Mír Murtazá was despatched to occupy the Fort of Rámbú,* the distance of which from Chittagong is four days' journey, and was ordered to report on the strength of the Arracanese there. After a most difficult march of twelve days, Mír Murtazá arrived at a place one *kos* distant from the Fort of Rámbú. He attacked the town

* Called in our maps *Ramoo*, far to the south of Chittagong. Ramú itself is now a Police Station and lies at some distance from the sea. It is the most south-easterly point to which the arms of the Mughals penetrated. It was this place pro-

bably which gave its name to the kingdom of Ramu mentioned above. Purchas says:—"The *Mogore*, which be of the kingdom of Recon (Arracan) and Rame (Chittagong) be stronger than the king of Tippera.

on the following day, and Ráwalí, the Governor, who was another brother of the Rája of Arracan, withdrew to the jungles in the neighbourhood. Many prisoners were made, and a number of imperial subjects, who had been carried off, were released. But, as the Rája of Arracan sent reinforcements to Rámbú, Miyánah, Khán, Jamál Khán and others, were sent to a river* which is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ kos distant from the town, and their duty was to watch the movements of the enemy. One day the Arracanese suddenly fell on the detachment with a superior force and seven elephants, and cut down several Imperialists. Mír Murtazá, on being informed, moved at once towards the river, crossed it (though it is very deep) and defeated the Arracanese after a prolonged fight. Eighty guns, and a large quantity of muskets and material, fell into his hands.

But as Rámbú was too distant from Chittagong, and the roads scarcely passable, the communication being entirely cut off during the rains, Buzurg Umed Khán thought it wise to give up Rámbú, and ordered Mír Murtazá to return with the booty and the prisoners. The latter were taken to Dakhin Kol which belongs to Chittagong.

At the end of Sha'bán (middle of February 1666) the news of these consecutive victories reached His Majesty, who changed the name of Chittagong to Islámábád. The Nawáb received several presents. Buzurg Umed Khán was made a commander of 1500, with 500 horse; Faráid Khán a commander of 1500, with 350 horse; and Mír Murtazá received the title of Mujáhid Khán (*i.e.*, the warrior-Khán), and Ibn Hussin that of Muzaffar Khán (*i.e.*, the victorious Khán) with suitable promotion. The zemindar Munawwar was made a commander of 1000, with 500 horse.

The Abbé Raynal, in his *History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies* † thus speaks of Chittagong:—"Chátigan is situated on the confines of Arracan. "The Portuguese, who in the days of their prosperity endeavoured "to get all the important ports in India into their own hands, "made a considerable establishment at that place. Those who "were settled there, threw off the yoke of their native country, "when it became a part of the Spanish dominions, choosing rather "to turn pirates than to be slaves. They long infested the neighbouring coasts and seas with their depredations. At last they "were attacked by the Moguls, who raised a colony upon their ruins, powerful enough to prevent any inroads which the people "of Arracan and Pegu might be tempted to make into Bengal. "This place then sunk into obscurity till 1758, when the English "arrived and settled there.

* Now called the Lágkhali.

J. Justamond. London, 1777. Book

† Translated from the French by iv, vol. ii, p. 139.

"The climate is healthy, the water excellent, and provisions are in great plenty; the landing is easy and the anchorage safe. Though the knowledge they had of these advantages had determined the English to seize upon Chatigan, we are apt to think they would have given it up at the last peace to get rid of the French and remove them from a place (Chandernagore) which lies too near them, and which long habit has endeared to them. The present opportunity is perhaps a favourable one to think of the exchange we propose. The fortifications which the English had begun to erect at Chatigan having been thrown down by frequent earthquakes, they have taken a dislike to the place. As to the French, this inconvenience, great as it is, would be preferable to that of living in a defenceless town. It is better to strive against nature than against man, and to be exposed to the shocks of the earth than to the insults of nations."

In 1685-6, when king James II authorized the East India Company to make war, an expedition, consisting of ten ships of war, was fitted out in England, and placed under the command of Vice-Admiral Nicholson. After visiting Balasore, the Admiral was ordered to proceed to Chittagong, take possession of it and fortify it with 200 cannon which were sent with the fleet. He was further ordered to enter into a treaty with the Raja of Arracan. He was to make terms with the native zemindars, establish a mint, collect revenue, and make the place a second Fort St. George. Accidents attended the expedition; the fleet was dispersed by storms, and instead of going to Chittagong, several of the ships proceeded to Hooghly. There, a quarrel having arisen in the bazar among the English soldiers, it spread throughout the town, and a general action ensued. The Nawab Shaista Khan, on hearing of this, confiscated the English factories at Patna, Maldah, Dacca and Cossimbazar. Job Charnock, the agent, and the Council, returned to Chuttanooty (part of the modern Calcutta), and there they decided that the expedition to Chittagong could not be carried out.*

Some interesting information relating to the Chittagong Feringhees is to be found in an account of an episcopal visitation by the Reverend Father François Laynez, Bishop of St. Thomé, contained in a letter from Father Berhier, missionary of the Society of Jesus, to another Father of the same Society.† The Bishop left Chandernagore in the middle of January 1713.

* Chittagong is again casually mentioned by Stewart (*Hist.* p. 279) as having been annexed, together with the districts of Sylhet and Tipperah, to the government of Dacca, which in the reign of Muhammad

Shah (1740) was conferred by the Nawab Aliverdi Khan on his son-in-law Nuazish Muhammad.

† *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. xiii. p. 262. The letter in question is dated "à Pinnepondi, dans

The writer enumerates three sorts of Christians then existing in India—

(1) European commercial adventurers, established along the banks of the Ganges, chiefly at Hooghly.

(2) The *Topasses* (*gens à chapeau*)* or Portuguese mercenaries in the service of the Mughal. These were chiefly congregated at Hooghly, Pipli, Chittagong, Dacca, Ossempur, and Rangamati in Assam. The hats, from which the members of this community derived their name, were only worn by the heads of families on great festivals.

(3) Converted heathens.

He goes on to say that Chittagong is the seat of one of the most numerous of these communities, not only on account of the salubrity of the climate, illness being rare,† but also because the Mughal is compelled to protect this frontier (by means of Christian mercenaries) against the inroads of the neighbouring people of Arracan.

"The first inhabitants that we met astonished us by their extraordinary dress. They wore *un caleçon de toile rayée*, à *grands canons*, slippers, a shirt or linen doublet, a kind of cap with ears, the ends of which were turned back (*retroussés*), and over all this a dressing gown (*robe de chambre*), which serves as a covering at night and is their full-dress (*habit de cérémonie*) during the day.

"With this equipment they presented themselves to us, about half a league from the house to which we were going, each with a weapon in his hand. The prelate asked them who they were; and one of them becoming spokesman replied that they were soldiers of such and such a company, and that they had come to escort His Lordship. We then perceived that this was their uniform (*habit d'ordonnance*). The Bishop, charmed with their good-will, gave them his benediction. These soldiers were soon followed by the captains and other officers. They were all well-made men, of good stature. They kissed the hand of the Bishop, and escorted him in their budgerows as far as the house."

The Bishop commenced his visitation on the day of the Purification of the Virgin, in the year 1713. During his stay at Chittagong, he administered confirmation to more than two thousand Christians.

la Mission de Carnate, le 15 Janvier 1723."

* The Mughal historians use a similar name, *kulāh-posh* Feringhis, i.e., hat-wearing Feringhis.

† This can scarcely be said of Chittagong at the present day. Yet

it is a fact that Chittagong in the last century was the sanitarium of Bengal. See a paper by Dr. J. Wise on the Medical History of Chittagong in the *Indian Medical Annals of Science*, No. xxi.

The ecclesiastical party were detained some months by the requirements of the community, and the occurrence of the periodical rains. "Nous demeurâmes à Chitagau jusqu'au mois de Novembre, sans y ressentir aucune incommodité. Les vivres y sont admirables, l'air bienfaisant, et l'eau excellente."

The Christians of Chittagong are described as divided into three *peuplades* (colonies or communities) at a distance of half a league from each other.* Each of these had its Captain, its Church, and its Missionary. "Il y auroit cependant," observes the Jesuit, "de quoi en occuper plusieurs." The language in ordinary use was Portuguese, except in addressing the natives of the country, most of whom were slaves. "On y parle communément la langue Portugaise, mais les naturels du pays dont la plupart sont esclaves, et à qui on parle presque toujours leur langue, ont de la peine à apprendre, dans une langue étrangère, les choses nécessaires au salut : dans le dessein de les instruire de même que les Chrétiens du dedans des terres nommés Boctos, (Bhaktas) qui viennent à Chatigan pour participer aux sacrements."

The writer notices the entire religious freedom enjoyed by the Christians, which he attributes to the great respect in which they are held by the natives, and also in a slight degree to their possession of arms and military discipline. Probably the latter circumstance had more to do with the independence of the community than the author is willing to admit. He says : "Le respect que l'on a dans ce pays pour les Chrétiens, et un peu aussi pour les armes qu'ils portent,—car ils sont tous soldats de profession,—leur donne une liberté entière de célébrer les fêtes avec le même ordre, et la même solennité qu'en Europe." He particularly mentions the celebration of Holy Week. "Je fus charmé de leur voir faire les cérémonies de la Semaine Sainte. Le reposoir,† où fut placé le Saint Sacrement, occupoit toute la hauteur de l'église en forme de trône à divers étages. Là, sans argenterie ni dorure, des feuilles d'étain nouvellement fondues et taillées en fleurs et en festons, et appliquées sur des pièces de décorations à fond rouge, faisoient un fort bel-effet."

A peculiar ceremony, that of Domingo da Cruz, is mentioned as being rigidly observed by the Portuguese. Choosing a Sunday in Lent, they formed a procession representing our Saviour bearing the Cross. At certain places the procession was received with a "chant lugubre et pénitent." It made the circuit of the entire quarter "par quatre rues tirées au cordeau." The favourite saint of

* In a letter from the Collector, of Chittagong dated 14th August 1806, mention is made of a pension of Rs. 28-7-3-1 to the Portuguese priest for his attendance at three Churches.

† A temporary altar for the Host.

the Portuguese was Sainte Véronique, "avec son voile empreint de la Sainte Face de notre Sauveur."

The author regrets that Chittagong had not been selected in preference to Hooghly as the head-quarters of the Europeans settled in Bengal. He observes, however, that the 'Moors' have always been opposed to their occupying the place; it being their interest to keep the foreigners shut up as it were in the heart of the country. "J'ai regretté plus d'une fois que les Européens voulant s'établir dans Bengale n'ayent pas choisi Chatigan préférablement à Ougli, vu la sûreté du mouillage, la facilité d'y aborder, la bonté des vivres, et mille autres commodités qui sembloient les y inviter. Il est vrai que les Mores, qui ont intérêt à les tenir comme enfermés dans le cœur de leur pays, s'y opposent autant qu'ils peuvent, et que quand malheureusement quelqu'un est obligé d'y relâcher par la violence des tempêtes, comme il est arrivé de mon temps à un navire Anglais et à un autre Arménien, qui n'ayant pu prendre Balassor, furent contraints de se laisser deriver (*drift*) à Chatigan, ils les molestent par tant de vexations, qu'après avoir mangé une partie de leurs fonds, ils sont obligés d'abandonner le reste et le vaisseau même pour sauver leurs personnes."*

The foregoing narrative would appear to give rather a *couleur de rose* account of the state of things among the Christians at Chittagong, at least if we may judge from the description given by Captain Alexander Hamilton,† who wrote shortly after. He says:—"Xatigam is a town that borders on Bengal and Arracan, and its poverty makes it a matter of indifference whom it belongs to. It was here that the Portuguese first settled in Bengal, but the dangers their ships ran in coming thither in the south-west monsoon,‡ made them remove to the Bandel at Hooghly. The

* In the same year (1713) the writer seems to have visited Dacca. He does not appear to have been much struck with the architectural beauties, still less with the conservancy arrangements, of the capital. "Daca qui est, comme je l'ai dit, la capitale de Bengale, est située par les vingt-quatre degrés de la latitude nord; la commodité des rivières rend cette ville d'un très-grand commerce; les mousselines qu'on y brode de fil et de soie sont fort estimées en Europe. Pour ce qui est de la ville, rien de plus sale et de plus mal-propre. Figurez-vous une prodigieuse multitude de

"chumines (*huts*) qui occupent une plaine de demi-lieue d'étendue, et qui forment des rues fort étroites, pleines de fange et d'ordures qui s'y rassemblent à la moindre ondée, au milieu desquelles quelques maisons de briques bâties à la moresque, et d'un assez mauvais goût, s'élèvent d'espace en espace, à peu près comme les balivaux dans nos bois taillis (*like the standard in our copses*); c'est là une peinture naturelle de Dacca."

† *Account of the E. Indies* 1727. vol. ii., chap. 35.

‡ This season is still considered unfavourable for ships to come to

"Mughal keeps a Cazeer or Judge in it to administer justice among the Pagan and Muhammadan inhabitants, but the offspring of those Portuguese that followed the fortune of Sultan Shujah,* when he was forced to quit Bengal, are the domineering lords of it."

Again :—"The Government is so anarchical that every one goes armed with sword, pistol and blunderbuss: nay, even the priests are obliged to go armed, and often use their arms to as bad ends as the licentious laity; and some of the priests have died martyrs to villainous actions."

In 1786 the south of the Chittagong district was invaded by a force from Arracan under a Pegu general. Major Ellerber was sent against them, but could see nothing of the "Peguers." With the invading force were about "500 of the *Portuguese* caste, armed with muskets and wearing caps resembling those of the Armenians." It would seem, therefore, that even at this late period Portuguese mercenaries were serving in Arracan.

An account of the Feringhees in Chittagong would not be complete without some mention of the French, who appear to have obtained a footing here about the middle of the last century.

In December 1747 M. Reneaux père, chief of the French factory at Dacca, ordered the establishment of a factory at Chittagong. About 1750 a M. Albert, apparently a member of council at Chandernagore, was sent from that place to Chittagong. During his residence he caused a chapel to be built, which was still in existence in 1787. It was called "Notre Dame de Garde Loupe à Comcam." The chapel was situated close to the Portuguese cemetery, and with it was entirely washed away by the river in 1811 or 1812. M. Albert was succeeded by M. Ticher, who married the sister of "Jôn de Baros." No mention is otherwise made of this Portuguese, who appears to have been well-known.

Nothing more is heard of the French till the year 1786, when great uneasiness was caused in the district by their claiming to establish a factory and hold certain lands.† On the 30th May of that year, M. Dangereux wrote from Chandernagore to Mr. Croftes that he was sending an agent, as agreed on by the Governor-General, to resume certain lands belonging to the French nation in Chittagong. Report was called for from the Canongoes and others as to

Chittagong, owing to the difficulty of beating out of the port with the wind in that direction.

* Vide *suprà*.—Bernier.

† It appears that the war at this time raging between France and England in Europe and America, ex-

tended in 1757 to the Indian settlements in Bengal. In consequence of this, the French factors had been recalled from all outlying stations—Chittagong in all probability included. See M. Billon's letter below.

the validity of the French claims. They reported that the French never had a factory or commercial resident at the place, and that the French colours had never been hoisted. They added that in the time of the Mughals it had been customary for every ship that arrived to pay down Rs. 1,000 for the liberty of trading.

M. Billon, who appears to have been the French agent, disputed the veracity of this report. The evidence of one Ram Prasad Dallál, who was suspected of being in the employ of the French, was therefore taken.

On the 11th June 1787, Mr. Shearman Bird (the Collector?) wrote to M. Billon, ordering him to haul down the flag of His Most Christian Majesty which he had erected over his habitation, "as the orders of my superiors direct me not to permit of this assumption." M. Billon replied, on the 12th June, that unless he received a counter-order from *his* superiors, he could not comply with the request to lower the national flag.

On the 15th June M. Billon wrote at length regarding the rights and privileges of the French in this place.

The following is a translation of his letter :—

"In the month of October 1747, M. Reneaux *le père*, having arrived at Dacca as chief of the French factory, received orders from Chandernagore to form an establishment for the Company at Chittagong. Accordingly he sent his Diwan Sibiram-tacour (Shib Ram Thakur), and with him two *Serguard* (sircars), one of whom was named Jagrenath (Jaggannath), and the other Ramoux, (Ram Bakhsh) with orders to request the Diwan Makchin who was in charge of the province of Chittagong, to allow him a place to carry on the trade of the French Company. The Diwan Makchin proposed to give him *Le Bondor*, (the Bandel of Chittagong) but the Diwan of M. Reneaux, not having found *Le Bondor* to his taste, asked to have the establishment at *Feringuij Bazar* (Feringhee Bazar), and a man Babouramtacour (Babu Ram Thakur) offered his house in which our Diwan took up his lodging, and had a large house built of straw and bamboos, as was then usual, to serve as a factory.

"The French Company carried on business at Chittagong during the three years that M. Reneaux was chief at Dacca, under the superintendence of the said Sibiramtacour. M. Reneaux having been superseded, M. Florin came in his place to take charge of the factories of Dacca, Jouguedea (Jugdea) and Chittagong, where M. Florin continued to carry on business in the same manner as M. Reneaux had done, and always under the management of Sibiramtacour.

"At the end of three years, M. Florin was succeeded by M. le Chevalier de Courtain, who also took charge of the factories

"of Dacca, Jouguedea and Chittagong. The diwan Sibiramtacour "having mismanaged the affairs of the Company, a Councillor "was sent from Chandernagore to Chittagong to examine the "affairs of the Company.* This Councillor, named M. Albert, "remained some time, and during his stay at Chittagong he "erected a church which is still (1787) in existence, and is "called Notre Dâme de Guarde Loupe à Comcam. * *

"In 1757 war broke out, and the Governor of Chandernagore "recalled all the factors from the factories, when M. Ticher retired "to Chandernagore. In the month of January 1761, M. Verels " (Verelst) † arrived at Chittagong for the first time to take posses- "sion of the province, when he lodged some days in our factory ; "and a small English consignment of iron, copper, damasks, &c., "having reached him from Calcutta, he caused all these goods to "be deposited in the French factory, and the Diwan Makchin gave "him a lodging at his house. * * *

"The land which belongs to the king, is situated in *Feringui* "*Bazard*. Part was given by Babouramtacour, whose son Nane- "contacour (Ramkant Thakur ?) is still alive at Chittagong. The "other portions were purchased by the French Company with the "sanction of the Diwan Makchin ; and the large tank which is ad- "jacent, was given us by a relative of the Diwan Makchin." ‡

Mr. Croftes, writing on the 25th June (1787 ?), says that M. Billon's spacious factory turns out to have been a miserable straw- hut, and that the claim to a factory of old date arose from a Frenchman having, at some time previous, made a speculation in cloths, iron, and looking-glasses, for the sale of which he erected a hut on ground for which he paid rent. He adds :—"It is very "certain, I believe, that the French have long had their views

* The letter is full of useless re- petitions, bad spelling and gram- matical errors. The writer appears to have been a man of little or no education.

† On the 3rd January 1761, three Englishmen—Messrs. Verelst, Ran- dolph Mariott, and Thomas Rum- bold—reached Seetakhoond, "after fatiguing marches," owing to the badness of the road, to assume charge "from the Government of the Moors," of the territory ceded to the British by Kasim Ali Khan, Subadar of Bengal. On the morning of the 5th they arrived at Islamabad (Chittagong), and received charge from Mahomed Raza, the Nawab. At this time an annual assignment of Rs. 49,421 was granted for the

maintenance of the Christians who garrisoned the various forts. (Letter to the Hon'ble H. Vansittart, Esq., President and Governor of the Coun- cil of Fort William from the Chief and Council of Islamabad, dated 6th February 1761.

‡ Who this personage was, is not very clear. Even allowing for French *hetero*-graphy, it seems impossible to torture the word into a proper name. It is perhaps just possible that the real word is "*Divân-i-Makhsan*" (Su- perintendent of *Magazines*), and that this title was given to the native official who was entrusted with the conduct of all business relating to factories, &c., in the old days of com- mercial adventure.

"upon this part of India as the easiest place from whence they might steal an army into the province."

The obnoxious flag, being torn by the weather, was lowered, but was again displayed. On this, the assistant was sent with a number of peons, who hauled it down. This was considered a grievous insult, aggravated by the fact that the men employed for the service were common thief-catchers.

The Government finally ruled that the land claimed by the French should not be given up. On the 25th May 1790 a claim for the same land was made by M. de Beaufort. Mr. Bird, writing on the 3rd June, remarks that "with the French, the want of territory is adequate (equivalent) to a claim, and a claim to the best confirmed evidence."

The causes of the decline of the Portuguese power in the East are too well known to need recapitulation in this place. We may refer those who wish for information on the subject to an excellent article in Volume V of this *Review*. In the present paper we have endeavoured to bring to light the connection of the Portuguese with a single district in Bengal, and we trust that the attempt has been so far successful as to demonstrate the important part which the Feringhees played in the history of the country two or three hundred years ago. At the present time it is generally supposed that all traces of the Feringhees of those early days have been lost in the process of miscegenation which has been going on for the last eight or ten generations. This is not the case. Feringhee communities are still to be found in many places in Bengal, not of a very pure type perhaps, but still entirely distinct from the native society in the midst of which they have existed for so many years. Such communities are to be found not only at Chittagong, but at Noakhali, at Dacca, at Hooghly and notably in Calcutta itself. Their study has a melancholy interest, and furnishes an important lesson to be ever borne in mind by the English in India. A few words, therefore, in conclusion, on the present condition of the Feringhees of Chittagong may not be out of place.

Among the many Christian families now residing in Chittagong, it is believed that there is only one of pure Portuguese descent. In this family brides have always been obtained from other parts of India. A few immigrants have come from Cochin and settled during the last forty years, but this is the only source from which fresh European blood has been derived. The large majority of the race have Mugh and Muhammadan blood coursing in their veins. The children always inherit the names of their fathers, whether they are the offspring of concubines or not. If illegiti-

mate, a public acknowledgment by the father and mother entitles them to aliment and to recognition in the courts of law.

The following family names exist among the Feringhees at the present day :—De Barros, Fernandez, De Souza, De Silva, Rebeiro, De Serrao, De Cruz, Dias Salgado, Da Costa, Penheiro, De Freitas, Gonsalvez, Dosange. Up to the beginning of the present century the Christian names were Portuguese, such as Joân, Ignatius, Aura, Candida, Jozé. Now, the surname is always Portuguese, and the Christian name English. In addition to the baptismal name, a pet family name is often given, by which the individual is generally known. The natives often transform these nicknames into laughable titles : Mr. John F. is familiarly known as Juno Sahib ; Samuel M. as Sammy Sahib.

The race as a class are distinguished by the title of *Matti* (earth) or *Kala* Feringhees.

In none of the historical accounts of Chittagong is mention made of the numbers of the Portuguese residing there. No registers appear to have been kept by the Goa priests. The earliest record of the number of the Roman Catholic Feringhees that we have been able to discover was in 1859. In that year they numbered 1,025 souls—the males being 510, the females 515. In the following year the males had decreased to 466, while the females had increased to 519, the total population exhibiting a falling off of 40 persons. In 1866, the total population was only 865, of whom 424 were males and 441 females. In these seven years, therefore, they had diminished 15·6 per cent.

Besides those resident in the Feringhee Bazar, we have ascertained the existence of some 322 of all ages beyond its limits. Of these 85 are returned as adult males, 107 as adult females, 82 as boys and 48 as girls.

Through the favour of the Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Bengal, we have obtained a return of all births among the Feringhees from 1845 to 1865, and of deaths from 1845 to 1866. During these years the births were 984, the deaths 1,082. The births, therefore, averaged only 49·2 per annum against 51·5 deaths. Of the 984 births, 490 were males, and 494 females.

The great mortality among infants is not apparent from this return. The laws of the church forbidding the interment of any but baptized children in consecrated ground, and this return being based on the burials solemnized by the clergy, a number of infant deaths are probably excluded. That infants do die in excessive numbers, there would seem to be no doubt. The barbarous manner in which the mother is treated during the period of her confinement, the stifling atmosphere in which both mother and child are kept, and the unwholesome food given to the former, must all tend to cause a large mortality.

The Feringhee female is not prolific, and no instance has been known of a girl becoming a mother before the age of fourteen. Of 133 marriages the offspring numbered 416 children, or an average of little over three children for each marriage. Of these 416 children, 217 were boys and 199 girls. One in 12 of the marriages was sterile. The greatest number of children born in one family was ten, but they were the offspring of two wives. Only one instance of twins occurred, though in Europe it is calculated that twins occur once in every 83 births.

A large number of the Feringhees form connections with Mugh and Muhammadan women; but unless they consent to undergo Christian baptism, they never marry them.

When ill, the Feringhees only resort to the dispensary on very rare occasions; but the native doctor attached to the jail has for many years had an extensive practice among them. They are very fond of prescribing for one another, and the medical lore which they hand down to one another in this way, is often of the most absurd description. For example, a living toad fastened to the top of the head, is believed to extract the evil principle that excites delirium, and in puerperal mania is considered a sovereign remedy. Betel leaves tied over a child's stomach and allowed to remain for twelve hours, will most infallibly cure an attack of gripes. Opium, in pills containing about one-fourteenth of a grain, administered at first once and afterwards two or three times a day, is regularly given to delicate and feverish children, and to those whose parents work out of doors. Inoculation is universally practised—a Brahman coming from Tipperah for the purpose every two or three years.

The following scraps of information relating to the Feringhees have been gathered from the records in the Judge's office:—

In 1794 we find two traders mentioned who were natives of Portugal, and reference is also made to an Italian mariner named Flower. Two years later seven Frenchmen were in Chittagong, two of whom were merchants. From a letter, dated the 20th December 1796, we learn that the Feringhees possessed large numbers of slaves.* The slave girls were let out as concubines, but their

* Slavery seems to have existed in former times as a recognised institution in the Chittagong district. In 1774, Henry Goodwin, Chief (of Chittagong), in forwarding a return of prisoners confined by the collectors before the establishment of the Faujdari Adalut, reports as follows:—"With respect to Jack, condemned the 28th December 1772, his crime being for stealing Rs. 200 from his master, I have not released him. I am to re-

mark that this Jack was a *slave* to one Signor Browne, who is since dead, and who it seems left all he had to a concubine. Of course this slave becomes her property, and she is desirous of his being set at liberty."

The following is a translation of a Persian letter respecting the custom of keeping slaves in the Chittagong district:—

"The custom with regard to slaves in this country is this.—Any one

masters asserted their right to reclaim them at will. Seven years later we read that the number of slaves often exceeded fifty in one family, in consequence of their intermarriage with indigent villagers.

In 1794 the island of Kootubdea was claimed by Martha Merchada and James Fernandez as lineal descendants of the Sutherland family, on whom it had been bestowed some years previously. In 1798 a chapel was built by Mrs. Marquard, and Padre Manuel da Piedade was its vicar. Mrs. Marquard farmed some land belonging to the Bandel Church which was situated at Rangonia and Ichapur. This should have brought in Rs. 90 per annum, but the vicar complained that he never received more than Rs. 70. So on the lady's death he thought to make up the deficit by charging her husband Rs. 100 for a grave. But the husband refused to pay, on the ground that the chapel was the gift of the deceased.

In appearance the Feringhee is darker than the Hindustani, his complexion having a brownish tint. His hair is black and shiny. The men are short, thin, flat-chested and generally ill-made. When industrious, they can get through twice as much work as a native, but their industry cannot be depended on. The girls are occasionally handsome. At Christmas, Easter and other great feasts, they exhibit their fondness for dress in bright-coloured damask garments. The hideous effect, however, is partially atoned for by the graceful white veil which rests on the head and falls mantilla-fashion to the ground.

The occupations of the Feringhees of the present day are various. A great number follow the profession of their forefathers, and losses by ship-wreck are said to be one of the most considerable causes of the diminution in their numbers of late years. There

"who is without father, brother or any other relation; who is not connected with any zemindar or others in the revenue or cultivation of the country; who is destitute of the necessaries of life, and should propose selling himself, on the receipt of money for which he agrees, becomes a slave; any person possessing such slave or slaves, and being in want of the necessaries of life, may sell him, her, or them, to whomsoever he pleases, and the purchaser is from that time considered as the master. The children, grandchildren, and so on, to many generations, become the slaves of their parents' masters, and they must do

"whatever task is imposed upon them, whether ploughing, building, or any sort of drudgery. Their wives must also attend on the wife of their master. When they marry, it must be to a slave, and that of their master's choosing. He defrays the wedding expenses, and they can on no account marry without his consent."

The letter adds that this custom has prevailed time out of mind; that a discontinuance of it would cause much unforeseen distress, and would not be satisfactory to the slaves themselves, who from long usage have no desire to live otherwise.

are two recognised grades amongst them, the higher being composed of keranies, ship-captains, &c., and the lower of sail-makers, topasses, &c. In the interior some follow agricultural pursuits. Certain individuals among them are looked up to with respect as advisers and arbiters in domestic disputes. Cases of scandal, for instance, are always adjusted by a punchayet of the Elders.

The Feringhees of course profess the Christian religion, but from long intercourse with the natives the standard has become somewhat debased. Many native customs too are observed by them. The following are some of the usages practised in the present day on the occasion of domestic occurrences :—

Baptism.—On the seventh day after the child's birth, the friends of the family, including the Padrino and Madrina (god-father and god-mother) who are always engaged some time before, meet and perform the *Shatuara*. This ceremony is as follows :—A candelabrum with five branches is placed on a table adorned with flowers, shells, and gold and silver coins, near the bed of the mother and child. To each candle the sponsors assign a name. At dusk, the candles are lighted, and whichever burns the brightest, is selected as the name of the child. Presents are then made to the infant, and the remainder of the night is spent in feasting. The child is baptised on the following day, when the *Shatuara* name is generally (though not always) given him. If, however, a child is christened by another name, his *Shatuara* name generally clings to him through after-life. The god-parents are expected to make presents to the child every year at Christmas, New Year's Day and Good Friday. The twenty-first day on which the child is first placed in a cradle duly consecrated for the purpose, affords another occasion for much feasting and merry-making.

The boring of a girl's ears is also a ceremony of some importance. It generally takes place at an early age. On the day appointed, the girl is dressed as a *Noiba* (bride) ; the ears are pierced with a needle and thread ; presents are made to her, and she is then bathed. The day winds up as usual with feasting and merriment. So fond indeed are they of devising pretexts for conviviality, that a similar ceremony is sometimes observed when a boy's cheek comes into contact for the first time with the barber's razor.

Marriages.—A girl always retains her father's name even after her marriage, and on her death it is engraved upon her tombstone. Marriages are generally arranged by a go-between. When a girl is to be betrothed, a day is appointed for the *phul karral*, when the young man's parents or friends visit her house with presents of ornaments and eatables. If the match is approved, a flower is given on the part of the bride, while she is invested with the trinkets which have been brought for her on behalf of the bridegroom (*Noibo*).

The banns are published in church for three consecutive Sundays. The dress in which the bride attends church on the last of these occasions, as well as the bridal dress, is provided by the bridegroom. Open house is kept for a week before the wedding, and much feasting and joviality take place.

On the wedding day, after solemnization of the marriage, the bridal party first proceed to a friend's house, where refreshments are provided. They then go to the bride's home, and partake of the marriage-feast, after which the bride sings her farewell song, and the happy couple, attended by the bridesmaids, depart to the bridegroom's house. Soon after, the bride's parents arrive, and the bride is formally transferred into the hands of the bridegroom and his family. This affecting scene over, the newly-wedded pair are left alone.

The Feringhees attach considerable importance to the consummation of a marriage, and curious stories are told of the quarrels and jealousies which arise on this question, and the means that are taken to prevent them. It would seem, however, that there are few wrongs which cannot be atoned by a judicious banquet, and a certain quantity of drink. Feringhees treat their wives with great harshness—not to say, cruelty. An act of kindness is regarded as the mark of a mean spirit.

Funerals.—On the occurrence of a death, the corpse is washed and dressed and placed upon a charpoy or table, at the four corners of which are lighted candles. Incense is burnt and the body is also perfumed. On the arrival of the priest, a service is celebrated, after which a procession is formed, headed by a large silver cross and a pair or more of silver candlesticks with lighted candles, and the body is carried to the church. After more prayers and incense, the body is consecrated with holy water, and then taken outside to the grave, where there is a further service and more incense. The ceremony over, the whole party returns to the house of mourning, and on the seventh day after death a great feast is held. A ceremony is also held in the first, third, sixth and twelfth months after death, when prayers are offered for the dead.

The following are the customary observances at the time of confinement:—The mother is not allowed to take to her bed, but must be delivered in a sitting posture—the *accoucheuses* being Muhammadan women. As soon as the child is born, the mother is made to swallow an ounce of mustard oil, flavoured with pepper. She then stands up against the wall, while the midwife rubs her abdomen with mangoe leaves; after which she is bathed and put to bed. For a month afterwards, the same treatment is observed as among Muhammadans. Every crevice in the room being carefully closed, a large fire is lighted close to the bed; and, while half-suffocated with smoke and heat, the

unfortunate creature is plied with hot *massélas*. In one respect only does the Feringhee woman fare better at this period than her Muhammadan sister. Contrary to their usual custom, Feringhee husbands treat their wives at these interesting periods with moderation and even kindness.

It would be strange if after the important part which they have played in India, the Portuguese had left no traces in the language of the country. The following words would clearly seem to owe their origin to the Feringhees :—

Chábi (Port. *chave*) a key. [The word is scarcely used out of Bengal.] *Kobí*, (Port. *cuore*) cabbage; *Girjá* (Port. *igreja* Gk. *ekklesia*,) a church; *Padrí* (Port. *padre*); *Fítah*, (Port. *fitá*) a ribbon; *Sáyah*, (Port. *saya*) a petticoat; *Almári* (Lat. *armarium*); *Martaul*, a hammer; *Máskabád*, a nautical term explained in the dictionaries; *Caste* (Port. *Casta*, a breed) and one (somewhat doubtful) geographical term (though the Bombay folks swear by it) (Bono Bahía) Bombay, i.e., good harbour.

Other Portuguese words which are still in common use, are :—*Natal* (Christmas); *Anno Nuevo* (New Year); *Quaresma* (Lent); *Sciata fera major* (Good Friday); *Geanto* (a dinner-party); *Ceon*, corrupted into *ceeur* (supper); *Al-muso* (breakfast); *Bon matino* (Good morning); *Bon noite* (Good night); *Bonos dia* (Good day); *Bon midia* (Good noon); *Ressurreicao* (Resurrection); *Mov-i-to mercier* (thanks); *Mov-i-to obriga do* (much obliged); *Domingo*, &c., (the days of the week); *Queianda* (sister-in-law); *Queindo* (brother-in-law); *Phillado*, *Philladda* (god-children); *Padrino*, *Madrina* (god-parents); *Compadra*, *Commadre* (the relation between the parents of married persons or god-children), &c. &c.

The Feringhee approximates much more to the native races than the Eurasian does. Like the worst examples of the latter, he is wanting in energy and in ambition. He relies more on the assistance of others than on his own single-handed exertions. The better specimens of East Indians have no equals among the Feringhees, of whom the majority compare unfavourably as regards enterprise with the Muhammadan traders and merchants.

The pride of race still lingers among them, and, like the Corinthians of old referred to by Cicero, "*animis diuturna cogitatio callum vetustatis obduserat.*" They look down upon the native races around them, yet their attitude is not that of the Eurasian. The preponderance of native blood and similarity of habits draw them much more to the native than to the European. The native taunts them with being only "*Matti Feringhees*," or earth-coloured Europeans, and estimates them as no better than himself.

By his general neglect of education the Feringhee has allowed the more energetic Muhammadans and Hindus to outstrip him in the

race of life. Since 1836, when the Government school was established in Chittagong, the Muhammadans have eagerly availed themselves of it, and appointments of which the Feringhees formerly had a monopoly, are now sought for and obtained by them. This competition has deprived the Feringhees of their chief source of independence. The inertia of their nature has prevented them from striving to better their condition, and they grievously lament the fate that has reduced a De Barros or Gonsalves to gain by manual labour the miserable pittance of a common day-labourer.

This general neglect of education was chiefly owing to the character of the priests sent from Goa. These half-caste men, renowned for their superstition, ignorance and selfishness, brought discredit on their profession. To instruct, they were incompetent. For many years the only tuition children could obtain, was either from their parents or from the descendants of certain Spanish immigrants who acted as schoolmasters, but whose knowledge, if they possessed any, was not very profound.

To one looking back at the history of the Portuguese connection with Chittagong, their decline sooner or later appears to have been only a question of time. As mercenaries of a foreign state, content with regular pay and with the plunder they acquired in their forays and piratical expeditions, forming connections with their female slaves, cut off from the introduction of fresh European blood, and above all removed from the healthy public opinion of their countrymen, they took the best measures to accelerate the doom that has befallen them. The annexation of the province by the British in 1761 deprived them of their pay as soldiers, and shut up all prospect of acquiring wealth as buccaneers.

ART. IV.—THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

Administration Report by the Resident at Hyderabad, including a Report on the administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts for the year 1869-70.—By Charles B. Saunders, Esq., C.B., Bengal Civil Service, Resident at Hyderabad.

PART I.—THE HAPPY VALLEY.

THE relation which exists between the Indian Government and the many independent or quasi-independent states which are to be found scattered throughout India, is a subject the interest of which cannot be denied. Unfortunately it is one on which the general public is but ill-informed, and one also on which it is not easy to obtain detailed information. It is well-known that the guardianship of the relations between these states and our own Government is entrusted to a department which is superintended and controlled by the "Foreign Office," whose existence is justified solely by the work which it performs in connection with the Native States. Doubtless our relations with Sher Ali, with Sir Jung Bahadur, with the Rajas—Deb and Dhurm—of Bootan, with the King of Burmah and Sookpilal, are matters of solicitude to the "Foreign Office"; but these alone would not necessitate the maintenance of a separate Department of State for their regulation, as the existence of our allied native states does.

The causes of the general ignorance which prevails with reference to our native states are chiefly two. First, the Foreign Office itself, following the traditions of Foreign Offices at home, gives the people very few opportunities of obtaining accurate information on the subject. Thus the report we have named at the head of this article purports to be the "Sixteenth Annual Report"; but we believe we are not in error in saying that it is the first which has been placed before the public. Secondly, the general public show so little interest in the affairs of our allied princes, as almost to justify the Foreign Office in its policy of reticence and non-obtrusion. Only on the occurrence of rare and generally unimportant events is the public mind roused to take a temporary and spasmodic interest in foreign affairs. Thus, a disputed succession, characterized by half the population starting to present a petition to some undefined power, lately obtained a little notice for the little state of Chumba: or a group of ingeniously mis-represented facts rouses the diplomatic ire of the *Friend*, ^{tattler} the "Boot-and-Shoe-diplomacy" question assumes for the time ^{European} national importance; or a prince in a pique refuses to attend ^{By his} ^{ar,} and has to be ^{diplomatically,} that the young ladies of more ene.

his family, some few hundred years ago, were no better than the young ladies of the period ought to have been. But on the important subjects of the modes of life and forms of government which are to be found in our native states, and the degree in which we influence them, and they, in their turn, reflexively act upon ourselves, the general public show little or no interest.

When we consider the position which our native princes occupy with reference to ourselves, we find considerable difficulty in selecting any one phrase by which to designate them. "Dependent," "independent," "feudatory," "allied"—each adjective describes the position with accuracy from one point of view, but no one of them expresses a comprehensive definition of all the existing relationships between these princes and ourselves. Thus, the states may be said to be fully and completely "dependent" in the sense of owing allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen, in having to admit the Queen's supremacy by attending the durbars of Her Majesty's representative in India, and in having, in some instances, to pay tribute. On the other hand, these states retain many of the privileges and attributes which belong to independent nationalities. They make and administer their own laws—or administer laws without making any—in their own courts, and by means of their own judges; they have their own revenues, which they raise and spend as they choose: they have their own treasuries, their own coinage, and, in some instances, their own armies. Their powers, title and territory are hereditary. On failure of issue an heir may be adopted; and only on rare occasions on which the *vis major* of the paramount power has to be brought into play, does any proof of ultimate "dependence" obtrude itself in the ordinary course of the administration of a native state by native rulers. A mark at once of dependence and independence is that the Government of India deposes to the seat of government in native states a representative, who, under the title of Resident, Governor-General's Agent, or some other style, guides the diplomatic relations which exist between the Sovereign or Supreme power and the Courts to which they are accredited. It would thus seem that while our native nobles owe an ultimate subordination to the supreme authority of the Empress of India, yet this subordination to a power outside their own states interferes but little with their absolute sovereignty or independence within the states which they rule. It is difficult to find any complete historical parallel to their position as thus defined. Not that history is wanting in instances of countries or clans bound by a nominal subordination, and nevertheless enjoying practical independence. But such instances are generally the converse of the phenomenon which presents itself to our study here in India. For, while here we find a great power which could annihilate and absorb all the

native states without difficulty, if not without danger; in other countries and at other times, the power nominally paramount has been allowed to exist by the forbearance of those whom it called subject and dependent. If the state of Luxembourg, while retaining its present internal constitution, acknowledged the emperor of Germany or the Government for the time being of France as a paramount power, we should have a nearly complete counterpart of the position which is held by our native states with regard to the superior authority of the British Government.

And how, we may ask, has it come about that many almost independent states have been allowed to exist in the midst of a country, most of which we have made our own and the remainder of which we could, doubtless without difficulty, soon annex? We all know in what manner circumstances over which we never had any control, gradually forced upon us the imperial crown of India; why is it that Mysore and the Nizam's dominions have escaped the fate of Oudh and the territories of the Amirs of Sind?

Now if we asked this question at the Foreign Office and received a reply, the reply would be to the effect that no single explanation can be given which is applicable to all native states; the history and circumstances of each must be studied, and from them the reason why each separate state has been allowed to retain its autonomy, must be deduced. *Mutatis mutandis*, we are accustomed to a similar statement whenever the High Court finds that its own precedents have carried it too far, and that the time has arrived for giving a fair trial to an opposite course of policy to that hitherto followed. Each case must then be considered, in some special sense, on its own merits; general principles and the precedents of the past do not apply. And so with our foreign policy. Our change of principle necessitates an appeal to the circumstances peculiar to each case; but there is one great fact which enables us to account for the existence of the states in question without troubling ourselves or our readers with a minute study of the circumstances peculiar to each of them.

Now we do not intend to allow ourselves to digress, in the least degree, into a history of annexation. "The small handful of European traders"—those pilgrim fathers of our Indian Empire—together with Clive, Warren Hastings, and even the Marquis of Dalhousie, may rest in peace so far as our present intentions affect them. All with which we have to do is the fact, that the circumstances over which, as aforesaid, we had no control, continued when once in motion, to push us and our territorial limits further and further towards the far frontiers and the midland states of India; tract after tract became our own—this, by the active exercise of the strong arm, that, almost of its own accord. As our power grew, our ambition increased; and when neither

pretext for war nor spontaneous accretion afforded us an opportunity of adding province to province, we began to look about for such signs of weakness or misrule in the native states as would satisfy the not over-scrupulous national conscience that annexation to British rule was called for in the name of down-trodden and oppressed nations. As the European standard was that by which Oriental Governments were tried, the defects and blemishes necessary to establish a case for annexation were seldom difficult to find. If at the same time a troublesome debt could be cancelled by annexation, an additional reason for annexation was found in the fact. Thus it was that our last *great* annexation—that of Oudh—was accomplished: followed so promptly by the Mutiny, which shook the very foundations of our empire, and compelled us to review our policy with regard to native states as well as with regard to our more immediate concerns.

Thus it was that we were compelled to bring under our control the circumstances which we had taught ourselves to believe to be incapable of subjection. The policy which we had followed steadily for many decades, had to be at once abandoned. A continent in arms against us as the sequence, if not the consequence, of our last act of annexation, taught us at least one lesson—namely, that the process of absorption of native states could no longer go on without endangering the stability of our rule in India. Had that policy not received the great shock which commenced in May 1857, had it continued in active operation down to the present day, and had our power been visibly such as to render opposition impracticable, it seems not improbable that not a single native state would have remained at this day in all that vast continent which extends from the Himalayas to the sea.

Having thus stayed our annexing hand and reversed our annexing policy, we began to judge each case on its own merits. These merits, though neither greater nor less than they were in the days before the mutiny, were after the mutiny found to be such as to prove at once the wisdom of the new policy and the folly of the old. Such of the old states as had neither been eliminated from the map of India by annexation, nor had brought annihilation on themselves by aiding and abetting mutineers, now received a renewed lease of life. Their constitutions were re-habilitated, and by the generous policy of Lord Canning fresh sunnuds were granted, conferring, or at least recognizing, the right of adoption of an heir to the native thrones on failure of natural issue. And at this date all possibility of annexation has passed away, except in the very rare instance of mal-administration within native states reaching to such a point as to call for the interposition of the paramount power really and *bonâ fide* in the interests of humanity. Thus we find one definite answer to the question, What has India gained by the Mutiny? If

it gained nothing else, it gained at least the destruction of the principles and practice of annexation; it secured Oriental rule to millions of orientals, and fixed that rule on so secure a basis that it is not likely to pass away for generations yet to come.

That this maintenance of oriental states with their oriental modes of thought, forms of government, and systems of administration, is of the greatest benefit, not only to the native populations themselves, but, reflexly, also to us, we do not entertain a doubt. One of the most common and most substantial grounds of complaint against the Governments which have ruled British India since the Company gave place to the Crown, is that their main idea of progress and improvement is the abolition of every principle and every practice which is peculiarly oriental, and the introduction of a spurious or dwarfed counterpart of European institutions. Space does not permit us, nor does the scope of the present article require us, fully to illustrate the results of this substitution of occidental for oriental modes. It is sufficient that we mention our financial system, and remember the persistent manner in which the Income-Tax has been forced upon the subject people of India, by men who either know not the country which they are called on to govern, or who, if they have knowledge, hide it away as an inconvenient and encumbering thing. In the organization of the native states, we recognize the source from which inspiration should be sought as to the modes and methods by which our own superior civilization and more scientific forms of government can be worked out to their legitimate results, in harmony with the feelings and instincts of the people who are subject to our rule.

That British rule is an unalloyed blessing to the people of India, was, until recently, regarded as an axiomatic truth, which need not be proved and which should not be questioned. Do we not give them missionaries, and Manchester goods—sometimes mildewed, it is true, but also sometimes not? Do we not fetch straight from England judges learned in the rites and ceremonies of Westminster Hall, financiers well-versed in the mysteries of the Stock Exchange; and juristsconsults, who, if they cannot understand the criminal procedure code of this country, know at least the criminal law of England. Do we not give one or two of the leading natives seats in our council-chambers, where they are encouraged freely to give utterance to the feelings of millions of human beings whom as the selected few they are supposed to represent? Have we not given them municipalities and town councils, civil offices, even judgeships of the High Court? Have we not already covered the land with roads—roads ‘pucka,’ roads ‘kutchra,’ and roads of rail? Are not the natives to be allowed to, ————— lakhs of rupees in building a college in England from

which shall come forth men trained to give them more roads of all kinds? Has not education, consisting mainly of "Rasselas" and—ominous study!—the "Deserted Village," been brought to every man's door? Have we not given the country that crowning glory of civilization, a large national debt, and have we not engaged to add an extra hundred millions of pounds to it on account of various benefits which "we think indispensable to the improvement of the country and the welfare of the people?" Happy country! be improved, whether you will or not; happy people! fare well, whether you know it or not. We make over to you these blessings, including the extra hundred millions of debt, and we ask no reward now—not even your gratitude; only a little honourable mention by the historian of the future.

Considering all these and countless similar blessings which we heap on the head of mild Hindu and fanatic Musalmán alike, and considering the small recompense—a little posthumous fame—for which we look, it is a little disappointing to have the general results of our administration so rudely called in question as they were, a few years ago, by an irascible and too plain-speaking nobleman from his place far away in Parliament. But when Lord Salisbury expressed his conviction, or, what is the same thing, was understood to express his conviction, that notwithstanding all we had done and all we were doing, the natives of the country preferred native rule to European, and would gladly get rid of their benefactors if they could, a blast was blown which could not but be heard on this side of the black waters. A certain pricking of conscience followed, if that phrase be allowable to express rather the fear of being found out than the feeling which leads to repentance. The case had been plainly stated, the issue clearly raised. A grand opportunity for self-examination was given, an opportunity of ascertaining in what light ourselves and our doings were regarded by the subject races, of showing that the excellency of our rule was known to and admitted by those races. But how was this grand opportunity lost? how was the issue, stated perhaps with too great plainness, evaded? By the casual substitution of an entirely different issue from that which had been originally propounded. The original issue was, *Do or do not* the natives of India prefer our rule to native rule? The issue enquired into was, *Ought or ought not* the natives of India to prefer our rule to native rule? The one was a definite issue of fact; the other could at best elicit a uniformity or a conflict of opinion. The one was calculated to settle a most momentous question; the other was of no conceivable use whatever. The one might have admitted a judgment either in the affirmative or in the negative according as truth demanded; while in so far as the latter admitted of any answer at all, it

could only be in the affirmative, seeing that witnesses, jury and judge were all interested that the answer should be in the affirmative, and the very form of the issue appeared to demand an affirmative reply.

Thus the great act of self-examination which Lord Salisbury was the witting or unwitting means of forcing upon us, yielded nothing but a little addition to our self-glorification, established us firmly in the conviction that if the natives of the country do not look upon us as gods upon earth, they ought to do so, and left unanswered, as in fact it had left unasked, the question what in truth and verity the natives do think of us and of our rule.

And if the facts seemed so strong against us in 1868 as to call forth the remarks of Lord Salisbury to which we have referred, and to induce Sir John Lawrence, while nominally making a rigid enquiry, in fact to evade the issue in question, what is to be said of them in the present day? Is it the fact of our "crushing taxation" which has endeared us to the subject races? Or our policy of palaver, whereby we try to convince the people that there is a material difference to them between ten rupees direct tax paid to the Imperial Government, and ten rupees direct tax paid to a local Government? Or our attempts to reverse our old educational policy? Or our public works with the public burdens which they entail now and in all the future? Or our attempts at counting the people? Or, generally, is it our great skill in preventing any single public question from ever reaching a position of finality that has won for us the attachment, if not the love, of our native subjects? Truly, if the case were strong against us in 1868, it is much stronger against us in 1872. For few who have watched with unbiased minds the progress of events during the years which have passed since 1868, and are able to speak to the people in their own tongues, can have failed to see that there has been creeping over our rulers a lessening knowledge of the people, a lessening sympathy with their feelings and modes of thought, a lessening regard for the great historic lines on which the institutions of the country were founded long before we began to sand-plaster and white-wash them. It is as a breakwater against the stormwave of our own policy of occidentalization, that we value, with reference to ourselves and our own subjects, the maintenance of the native states. For such of these states as have escaped the absorbing maw of annexation, preserve for our study oriental communities almost pure in their orientalism, oriental feeling, oriental modes of thought, oriental archaic principles and practice. These principles—not those of Manchester, the London Stock Exchange, and the Courts of Common Law—should be our study; and though the administrative details of these states may not be adapted for

transfer to our own territory, yet the national sentiment and historic traditions which have moulded them into their present form should be sought out and seized ; and, when found, they should form the basis of our own administrative structures, the frame-work on which should depend both the form and the character of all which we add from the rich stores of our Western civilization.

The Report of which the title appears at the head of this article, illustrates these remarks in almost every page, and as it is impossible for us to exhaust in detail the numerous subjects of interest which are brought under review, we shall be obliged in the sequel to select one or more prominent points for consideration, and to pass by much of an interesting and instructive nature with only casual notice. The report bears the name of "Charles B. Saunders, Resident,"—resident, that is, at the Court of His Highness the Nizam. Mr. Saunders wields an accomplished pen. The style of the report is most excellent ; precision of expression—a power of using the most exact, the most telling and at the same time the fewest possible words—strikes us as the main characteristic of the literary art as cultivated by Mr. Saunders. Hallam, not Macaulay, has been his model. The result is a state-paper of rare literary merit, pleasant to read, totally devoid of sensational writing, a model which even the Punjab may copy with advantage. The "divisions" of the report are clear ; the "parts" distinctive ; the chapters are confined each to a separate subject, which is disposed of within the limits of the chapter ; the sequence of subjects is natural, and the treatment of these subjects is, with some exceptions, complete and comprehensive without ever becoming prolix and tedious. The report is illustrated by excellent maps ; and is happily without a single appendix of statistical tables. Such small modicum of figured facts as is required to support or illustrate the text, is incorporated with it ; and while the judgment is convinced by the data placed before it, the mind is saved from that perplexing confusion which arises from the study of intricate statistical tables. In addition to this skill in the art of compiling a good and readable report, we must add that the Resident, whether dealing with the administrative details of the Berars, or the intricate ramifications of the Hyderabad durbar, shows a mastery of his subject, and a quiet geniality of temper which can hardly fail to secure a large measure of administrative success. The report shows that this success has been fully achieved, as we hope, before we have finished, to be able to prove.

The office of Resident at the Court of the Nizam is one which combines three distinct classes of duties. The Report before us is divided into two great "divisions." The first division treats of the administration of the Resident *first* as Chief Commissioner or "Local Government" of the "Assigned Districts" and *secondly* as

"High Court," or chief judicial officer of the same; while the second division treats of the political and diplomatic relations which exist between the Nizam's Government and our own.

To the minds of some of our readers the term "Assigned Districts" may give rise to some uneasiness. Districts fairly taken in open war are well known, districts "annexed," *i.e.*, taken without actual war, but with the pistol held as it were to the people's throats are also known; districts "ceded," *i.e.*, given up by their rulers in despair of being allowed to keep them—these, too, are known; but districts "assigned," what are they?

Their story is briefly told us in the 'introductory' chapter. The sovereignty or *dominium* of these provinces belongs to the Nizam, but their administration is entrusted to British officers. Since the year 1813, a compact body of infantry, cavalry and artillery, commonly known as the "Nizam's Army," has been maintained both to protect the integrity of the Nizam's dominions, and to constitute a contributory contingent to the general forces of the Indian Empire. But the pay of this force, it seems, was continually falling into arrears, and such arrears gave rise to frequent references to the Supreme Government; and to certain irritation and bad feeling between the Nizam and his army on the one side, and the Nizam and our own Government on the other. Yet, true to oriental ideas of the inalienable nature of hereditary soil, and of the necessity of maintaining the pomp of an "army," the stubborn Nizams would neither part with land for the support of their troops nor would they reduce the army by a single man. Happy thought! though land might not be "ceded," it might be "assigned." A certain portion of the Nizam's territory was therefore made over, or "assigned" to the British Government by a treaty, concluded in 1853, between the Nizam and the Marquis of Dalhousie, the responsibility of administration in all its branches devolved upon us, coupled with the obligation to pay the Nizam's army as a first charge on the local revenues, and to hand over to the Nizam all the revenue which remained in our treasuries as a "Cash Balance," after the cost of the administration and of the maintenance of the army had been defrayed. Such, as we learn from the report, were the circumstances and such the conditions under which the districts were assigned to us in 1853. In 1861, chiefly as a reward for the firm and loyal conduct of the Nizam during the mutiny, a large portion of the territory originally assigned was restored to him. The territory now called the "Assigned Districts" is composed "entirely of the valley of Berar, extending from "the confines of the Central Provinces on the east, to those of "the Bombay presidency on the west, with the Satpura range of "mountains as its northern, and the Ajanta range and the Paen- "ganga river as its southern boundaries."

The "Assigned Districts" are thus held by us by a tenure altogether unique. They are entirely distinct alike from 'conquered,' 'annexed' and 'ceded' territory. They are not, in fact, our property in any sense. The full *dominium* remains with the Nizam. We hold the land as a pledge in our keeping to secure the performance of one single condition, on which our Government as the paramount power insists, namely, the maintenance by our weaker ally of an army, or military contingent, of a certain strength. We realize the revenue, administering at the same time such justice as is necessary for the preservation of peace and property (without which the collection of revenue would be impossible); we pay the cost of our administration; we pay the army, and we hand over all surplus money to the Nizam. Thus our duties and his obligations are discharged. If by any change in our military arrangements the Nizam were relieved of his obligation to maintain a "contingent," it would be our duty to retire from that part of his dominions which still remain "assigned," as we have already done from that part which was restored to the Nizam in 1861. Whether the Government would acknowledge and act up to its obligations, we do not pretend to say. But that the case stands as we have stated it, does not admit of doubt: and this fact shows how, unquestionably, the Assigned Districts still form an integral part of the Nizam's dominions: how, therefore, the administration of these districts must ever continue intimately associated with that of the other portions of the same dominions, and how to dis sever the Assigned Districts from the Hyderabad administration, and place them under the management of the Bombay Government (as has been suggested by a daily paper of that Presidency) would be to break up what must ever constitute an indivisible unit and to introduce discord where harmony now reigns. If the unity of the Nizam's dominions were ever to be violated by the divulsion of the "Assigned" from the "Unassigned" portion, we should prefer to see the Berars incorporated with the Government of the Central Provinces, rather than with that of Bombay. And the reason for our preference is that the first duty of the administration of the Berars is one intimately connected with finance—namely, the realization of a surplus revenue sufficient at least to pay the troops of the Nizam's contingent. And surely the remembrance of financial failure, nay scandal, in connection with the Bank is too fresh to allow of Bombay taking upon itself any save its own financial difficulties. Or if the Bank *flasco* be of too remote a date, it may be remembered that the financial ability of the Bombay Presidency culminated a few weeks ago in an attempt to impose a tax on feasts. The financial ability of the Nizam of the day when the assignment became necessary, cannot have been great, but we feel convinced that it could not have been less than that

of the Western presidency at the present time. The unfinancial Nizams of former times, notwithstanding their ancestral stubbornness, would assuredly rather have disbanded their army than proposed to feed it on the profits of a tax on feasts. Be that as it may, as the districts were assigned because of the financial incompetency of the Native Governments of former times, we hesitate to endorse the recommendation of those who would place the administration under a British Government of the present day whose financial incapacity has so lately been proclaimed by itself.

We have said that if the circumstances were such as could render the disbanding of the Hyderabad contingent desirable, we should have no further claim on the Assigned Districts. This is the strictly legal view of the matter. But there is also an equitable side to the question such as would not be ignored by the High Court of Chancery, were the treaty a document which embodied an agreement entered into by persons amenable to its jurisdiction. The territory, it will be remembered, was assigned, because of financial incapacity, which in former times was chronic with the Nizam's Government, as at the present time it is chronic with our own. That under the quiet and masterly rule of Mr. Saunders and his predecessors, the Assigned Districts themselves have reached to an advanced stage of financial prosperity, does not affect our present argument. But, side by side with this financial prosperity in the Berars, a similar state of things has gradually been brought about within the territories which are still under the direct administration of the Nizam. This is not the place to enter into details. Suffice it for our present purpose to say that at page 163 of the report before us, we find it frankly admitted that this prosperity is "due.....to the beneficent administration and sound financial policy of the present Minister, Sir Salar Jung," supported by Mr. Saunders and his predecessors. Thus the prosperity is due, primarily, to *native* administration; and the reproach of the days of the Nizams who lived in 1853 and before it, has been removed. The question, therefore, fairly arises whether, the reasons which rendered the assignment necessary in 1853 having ceased to exist in 1870, the assignment itself should not be restored? A somewhat analogous equitable question has lately been asked and answered in England. Certain circumstances, it was alleged, existed at the close of the last Russian war which were held to necessitate the exclusion of Russia, as a naval power, from the Black Sea. These circumstances, it was urged, had since ceased to exist, and therefore equity demanded that the restriction should be done away with. Rightly or wrongly—as is well known—it has been done away with. If, *mutatis mutandis*, a similar enquiry were forced upon us by the Nizam's Government, we should probably at this date be compelled to admit the justice of

a demand for the cancellation of the assignment-bond, and the restitution of the Assigned Districts.

Thus from whatever point of view we regard the question, we find that the affinities of the Assigned Districts are altogether with the unassigned portions of the Nizam's dominions, and not at all with Bombay.

The origin and nature of the tenure by which we hold the Assigned Districts having been described, and the close political membership which still exists between these districts and the other parts of the Nizam's dominions having been shown, we must now look into some of the details of our own administrative doings within the Assigned Districts.

We turn, first, to the chapter devoted to Land Revenue, and we confess that we are somewhat disappointed at its extreme brevity. The *raiatwari* system having "prevailed from time immemorial" in the Berars, "has proved admirably suited to the conditions" of the country. Under this system, indigenous to the Berars, village settlements are made field by field; the cultivator receives a thirty years' lease, with a power of altering the extent of his tenement at the close of every year if he chooses. Thus both the bad results which follow from short leases, and the hardship which we have known in other *raiatwari* districts to arise from tenants being bound either to retain or to abandon their tenements as a whole, are avoided. The results have been a "steady augmentation of the rent-roll," "immigration from various quarters," a "remarkable increase in the area under cultivation and in the value of the land itself." How different all this from the results which we have achieved in Bengal by our departure from indigenous systems of land-settlement, and the substitution of a "permanent settlement" in their place. We resist the temptation of contrasting, in detail, the results which the two systems yield, known as both are to us by personal experience; but this much we will say, that within a radius of a few hundred miles of Calcutta, we could point out as much waste and unpeopled land as would yield, if properly managed, a revenue equal to that of the Berars. This revenue can, however, never be raised by Government, for it threw away its chance even of trying, when, for a mess of pottage, it sold its rights at the end of last century. And for this waste and unpeopled land, what are the permanently settled zemindars doing? how are they stimulating immigration from various quarters, increasing the area of cultivation, or even, by any action of their own, the market-value of the land itself?

The report does not tell us by what agency the land revenue is collected; and as the mode of collection is almost as important to the peace and happiness of the peasantry as the system and amount of assessment, we regret the omission. We trust that the

"middleman" class of society, baneful alike to governors and governed, is not in the ascendancy in *raiatwari* Berar. We ourselves have worked thousands of *raiatwari* holdings without the aid of a single middleman between the district officer and the holders of the estates; "arrears of revenue" soon became an unknown word; the mahâjan, that most odious but most indispensable adjunct to our pauperizing permanent settlement system, found no footing in the land; peace and plenty were within its borders, and the peasantry, if not very bold, were, in other respects, such as any country might have been proud of.

The land revenue, then, settled on the *raiatwari* system, with thirty years' leases, revisable as to the quantity of land held at the end of every year if the *raiat* chooses, and collected, we are not told how, is the main item of the "receipts side of the balance-sheet of the Berars." The "actual realizable land revenue" of the year 1869-70 "was Rs. 44,80,900, being in excess of the demand of the preceding year by Rs. 1,32,140." Of the current demand Rs. 44,60,400 were collected, leaving an uncollected balance of only some Rs. 20,500. A sum of Rs. 15,650 was, in addition, realized on account of the arrear demand. Now these results must be extremely satisfactory to the administrators of the Berars from the Resident himself down to the humblest Extra-Assistant Commissioner. They show a careful attention to the details of the work of administration, as well as to the general principles which should guide that work, and they furnish a complete answer to any one who flatters himself, that if he were Governor of the Berars, he could do the work better than Mr. Saunders has done it. And they show, further, that the *raiatwari* system, looked at merely as an arrangement for the collection of Government dues—we have already glanced at it as a means of improving the country and ameliorating the condition of the peasantry—is, under good management, more convenient and efficient than our permanent settlement. Thus, within a district extending over 18,000 square miles with a Government revenue demand of Rs. 45,00,000, in only two instances had distraint to be resorted to during the year under report for the purpose of enforcing payment of the land revenue. Where will you find, in Bengal, an area of the same extent and of equal revenue in which only two cases of sale took place during twelve months?

We extract the following paragraph to show that Mr. Saunders, in his laudable struggle against diffuseness, sometimes achieves a brevity which is most tantalizing to the reader. He writes (p. 37):—"The village expenses amounted to Rs. 6,75,116 in 1869, against Rs. 7,49,855 in 1868, which is at the rate of 14·76 per cent. on the gross land revenue. In estimating the real incidence of the revenue demand on the cultivator, the amount

"of village expenses *plus* 1 per cent. road cess, 1 per cent. education cess, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. village police cess have all to be taken into account, so that the aggregate rate of the land tax must be stated at Re. 1-0-11 or 2s. 1d. per acre"

Now we find in these few lines mention of subjects which excite our curiosity, and as we have searched the report carefully and failed to find detailed information regarding them, we admit that we are disappointed. Take "*the village expenses*," for example, here mentioned for the first time. The phrase as it stands, seems more appropriate to outlay than to income; and yet, from the statement that these "expenses" form an adjunct to land revenue properly so-called, of nearly 15 per cent., they are clearly an item of separate revenue. How is the money assessed? how collected? how disbursed? The appellation seems to indicate that it is returned into the pockets of the people in some more direct manner than other taxes are; and this on account of neither roads, education nor village police, each of which enjoys a "cess" appropriated to itself. Perhaps "*the village expenses*" are what we on this side of India would call "costs of collection," which under the euphemism of "village expenses" are assessed and realized from the cultivators, so that no "set off" shall appear against the collections of revenue.

A European gentleman of many years standing in this country and lately manager of a very large "concern," once came to a friend of the writer to ask advice on a point of conscience which sorely distressed him, and the point was this—whether, as a Christian and a gentleman, he could enter in his employer's accounts as "law expenses" money paid to men for giving false evidence in the courts. It was suggested that at least one point of conscience seemed to call for a settlement before we reached the difficulty which obstructed our friend. But he could not see this. Evidence was necessary—true evidence if you could get it; if not, the other kind. No point of conscience was visible in that direction; and there was no room for discussion. The only point was that set forth above. Now we wonder whether if we had had a "village expense fund," our friend could have drawn upon it for his "law expenses," and transferred to the village scribe the disposal of the point of conscience which arose as to the form which the entry in the accounts should take. Much as a fund from which village expenses in connection with law suits may be required in litigious Bengal, we hope, and from the statistics before us believe, that it is not for such purposes that a "village expense" fund is needed in the Happy Valley. If it be a fund from which may be met the cost of village wells, the salaries of village headmen, the support of the village temple, the clearing of the village cesspools, the replacing of village cattle destroyed

by murrain, the feeding of the village people, should famine destroy for a time the prosperity which they now enjoy, then happy indeed is the village. If, however, these "village expenses" are, as we fear, costs of collection, the price paid for the realization of the Rs. 45,00,000, we should prefer to see the gross land revenue stated at say 51½ lakhs, with a "set-off" of 6½ lakhs as "costs of collection."

Again: from the paragraph above quoted from the report, we find that the Berars which came under our management in 1853, has its road cess, its education cess, and its village police cess in full operation. In advanced and enlightened Bengal, which has been absolutely our own for about a century, the question of these three cesses is not only vexing the souls and taxing the ingenuity of our rulers, but is also eliciting the most strenuous opposition from those for whose benefit they are intended. In Berars the difficulty has been solved by constituting the payments on account of the three cesses distinct, but yet integral, portions of the ryot's rent payable to the State. The land revenue, village expenses and the three cesses constitute one consolidated sum, and after all, that sum amounts to only two shillings and a penny on each acre. Truly Mr. Saunders lets his moderation be known unto all men, and accomplishes great results out of a revenue which can press heavily on no one under his rule.

As regards the gross produce of the cesses we find at page 44 of the report, that the village expense fund yielded Rs. 6,75,116, the chowkeydari cess Rs. 1,91,133 and the educational cess Rs. 63,423. The road cess is shown grouped with the "staging bungalow fund" and the "ferry fund"—the three yielding Rs. 65,329.

Here we must take leave of this most compressed paragraph, longing, the more we look at it, for further information on the subjects to which it refers. Bengal is anxious to do what has been already accomplished in Berar; and, naturally, we should like to know in detail how it has been done. We see that roads, education, and village police are paid for by three separate cesses; that these are realized as increments to land revenue, and are collected by the Government, whether with or without the assistance of middlemen we know not, in direct communication with the peasant tenantry. The success of the Berars, therefore, affords little encouragement to Bengal, where the rent of the land is not in the hands of Government, but of zemindars whose demands from the ryots increase with the minutest increase of prosperity or even of diligence or skilful labour, while the State is at present debarred from sharing in the ever-increasing profits of our great obstructive middlemen. We may "improve" the people out of the proceeds of "crushing taxation" and a load of debt forced on the unhappy country, but in doing so we alienate the feelings and sym-

pathies of the people, and turn into a curse even such of our doings as under more favourable circumstances might be considered blessings. Those persons who with the history of three-fourths of a century before them, continue to hope that the permanently-settled middlemen of Bengal will ever place themselves *en rapport* with either European ideas on the one hand or with the body of their subject tenantry on the other, indulge, in our opinion, a vain delusion. For not until we have bought out or otherwise granted dismissal to the servants who have become our masters, shall we be able to reach the mass of the people, and confer on them, in a way which shall be acceptable to them, such benefits as are undoubtedly enjoyed by the natives of Berar under the rule of the British servants of the Nizam.

Having thus reviewed in some detail the land revenue system of the Berars, and tried to contrast it with the system pursued in Bengal, we must glance at some of the miscellaneous sources of revenue.

And here our eye falls on a chapter ominously headed "Other Taxes." Mr. Saunders, we observe, seems in happy ignorance of the momentous issue he was settling when, in an off-hand manner, he, by implication, called his land revenue a "tax." But let this pass. Naturally, we first went in search of our friend the Income, or *Zulmee*, Tax, and after much searching we found these words at page 74. "This tax . . . is not leviable from the people of Berar, who are His Highness the Nizam's, and not British subjects." Who would not be a subject of His Highness the Nizam, rather than a British subject? Happy the administrator who can thus dispose of the whole subject of this hateful tax in two lines, containing words so simple and yet of such momentous import to the people! We must do our zemindars the justice of admitting that in the absence of an income tax is to be found a reasonable and, perhaps, a sufficient explanation of the "immigration from various quarters" of which we have spoken above.

Thus from the nature of the land revenue system and the absence of an income tax, the people of the Berars are exempt from the following calamities which afflict their brethren in Bengal—*1st*, the payment of direct taxation from incomes which cannot bear it; *2nd*, the trials incident to the making of an assessment, though made without unnecessary hardship and extortion; *3rd*, extortion in the legion forms in which native assessors practise the art, especially that most penetrating of forms by which persons exempted by law have to pay for not being returned as liable to pay the tax; *4th*, the payment of enforced contributions demanded by some zemindars to make up the tax levied on themselves; *5th*, and chiefly, the moral degradation which is produced by the

artifices resorted to both by assessors in assessing, and by assesseees in evading payment, whether rightly or wrongly demanded. If there were no other reason on which to congratulate Mr. Saunders and the people whom he so ably rules than the absence of the Income Tax, yet this one reason would be sufficient to justify us in using the term "Happy Valley" as specially descriptive of the Assigned Districts.

Before leaving the subject of the Income Tax, we must, in fairness to our own Government, add that the British officials who conduct the administrative and judicial work of the Assigned Districts, though they draw their salaries from the Nizam's purse, were nevertheless called upon to stand and deliver Income Tax to the amount of Rs. 19,900, like any other unfortunate persons who are not His Highness the Nizam's, but British subjects.

So, among the "other taxes of the Berars," the income tax finds no place. "Salt," however, does. Now, it will be remembered that increase of the Income Tax everywhere, and of the salt tax in Bombay, coupled with the casting forth of certain English gentlemen from Government service to become breadless strugglers for existence, were among the chief characteristics of the financial panic of September 1869. But mark the difference in Berar. No English gentlemen were turned adrift in India to beg or to starve, no income tax was in existence, and the salt tax was *reduced* from one rupee eight annas to one rupee three annas per maund. Thus we see that while the British rule is all but expiring in financial throes, like a huge Frankenstein dying on a rack, an administration like that of Mr. Saunders' is honourably paying all its servants, is doing without an income tax, and is reducing its salt tax. Surely such an administration is deserving of special study with the view of the secret of success being discovered, and when discovered, applied to the solution of questions relating to financial administration which have hitherto proved insoluble by our Indian Government.

Another item of the "Other Taxes" is "Forests," — a head which would be placed with Land Revenue in a report written on this side of India.

The management of forests is one of the most delicate of all the duties which devolve upon the Commissioner, or district officer. We do not, of course, speak of forests situated within the limits of the permanently settled districts of Lower Bengal. These we abandoned to our zemindars, and cannot now touch them. We speak of forests situated in other parts of India, in the border land of the north, along the river courses of Burmah, among the Gond tribes of Central India. Wandering among some of these, we have rested from the noonday heat under shade of loveliest green, while the bee hummed a lullaby, and some sleepy

bird on the branches chirped a feeble protest against the invasion of its privacy. Or again, we have paused, in breathless silence, while the sky lowered and the stately sâl tree bowed its head, and by the rustling of its topmost leaves whispered of the coming storm. Swift came the tempest — rain such as falls only on forest-clad mountains ; wind which caused the sturdiest stems to writhe, checked the stream in its flow, and called forth responsive howls from the wild beasts in their lairs. Or again we have stood behind, nay within, the circle of the forest fires, which recall with awful force childhood's conception of Hell. But it is not with the beauties or the terrors of forest scenery that we have at present to do. For the time being we must class ourselves with those

Who can the fair and living tree neglect,
Yet the dead timber prize ;

or at least with those who value the fair and living tree chiefly on account of the price which it will fetch when dead timber.

But neither the delicate nor the difficult part of a district officer's duties in the management of forests is connected with the trees. It arises from the human denizens of the forests who have to be dealt with before the trees themselves come under consideration. Most of the tribes, who live in forests, date their origin from pre-historic times. They are therefore assumed to be aboriginal—no mutations among nations having occurred prior to the first page of our history books. They are older, anyhow, than their Aryan brethren of the plains ; they are simple in their habits, nearly always straightforward and truthful, and sometimes warlike. "Savages !" says young Bengal. Yes, savages if you please, but there is a simple nobility among truthful savages more pleasing than the civilized falseness of the Bengali. Their ideas of individual rights are ill-defined, but their beliefs as to what is due to the clan, family, or tribe, are strong. The rights claimed are few but comprehensive, and the tenacity with which they are insisted on is great. Unfortunately one of the rights claimed by the forest tribes is a right to use as they choose the forests in which they were born and in which they will die. When the assertion of this right comes into conflict with the assertion of our determination to regulate it in harmony with the modern rules of scientific "forest conservancy," then there is need of all the delicacy and tact which a district officer can command. Ignoring this great difficulty which besets forest conservancy at its outset, and which frequently all the skill of officers who have spent their lives among the people fails to overcome, the Government has, in some parts of India, unfortunately entrusted forest work to a separate department, under charge of the doctors. Why a separate department was required for work so intimately associated with district work as forest work is, we cannot explain ; and granting that

a separate department was called for, why that department should be placed under the doctors, again passes comprehension. Possibly the arrangement sprung from a nebulous conglomeration of hazy ideas, as that botany is somehow or other connected with forestry, that doctors learn botany when at college, and that they remember throughout their professional career what they learned then. Botany, however, has little or nothing to do with the matter. A learned botanist—a being by no means common in the ranks of the medical profession in India—may undoubtedly contribute much scientific aid of a theoretic nature on the proper management of trees. Yet this aid, like all aid of a purely scientific kind, is best elaborated in the study, its practical application being left to practical men. What is required for efficient forest conservancy in this country is a patient experienced district officer, who, knowing the people and their language, sympathises with them, and is prepared to render as palatable as possible our necessarily unpalatable encroachments on their ancient forest rights. He must of course be thoroughly versed in our revenue system, and hold the local control of the forest department as completely as he holds the control of the abkari, the land tax or the police of the district. Under the district officer should be placed a few assistants specially appointed for forest work, and under them a *posse* of well educated Scotch gardeners trained at Kew or the Royal Botanical Gardens of Edinburgh.

We are sorry to observe that in the Berars the "Reserved Forests" "have been administered directly by the department itself." The department, however, seems to be more liberal in the Berars, than it has shown itself elsewhere; for it allows all timber except teak and sheeshum to be felled and taken free of cost for domestic use by the forest tribes, and it permits the grazing of cattle and the collection of teak leaves and grass. This leniency probably results from the fact "that every Deputy Commissioner is engaged "as far as practicable in the work of forest conservancy." (page 86.) "In the unreserved forests no control is exercised over the cutting "of wood by the people, and no departmental attempts at reprobuduction are instituted;"—in fact nothing at all is done; and this is, perhaps, even more to be regretted than the constituting of forest conservancy a separate department and placing it under the doctors, or any other officers who are not subordinate to the district officer as their departmental superior. Forest conservancy, however, is still in its infancy everywhere, and in its early infancy in the Assigned Districts. Mr. Saunders is fully alive both to the necessity of forest conservancy, and to the difficulty of harmonizing our proceedings with the rightful claims of the forest tribes; and we feel convinced by the report before us that if any man is likely to succeed in reconciling progress and improvement with the

old traditional rights of the forest nomads, that man is Mr. Saunders.

In summing up the actual results of the Revenue Administration of the Assigned Districts, we would give prominent place to the following points :—1st, the country is settled on the *raiatwari* system ; 2nd, cesses for education, roads, and village police have been instituted, and are incorporated and collected with the land revenue ; 3rd, the incidence of the land-revenue, *inclusive of the cesses*, is one rupee and eleven pie per acre, equivalent to about 5½ annas per standard bigha ; 4th, there is no income tax ; 5th, during the year of the financial panic the salt tax was reduced ; 6th, in 1868-69, the revenue increased by spontaneous expansion by the sum of Rs. 5,47,971, and in the year under report by a further sum of Rs. 3,67,156 ; 7th, that “ there are no indications that the provincial revenues have even now arrived at their culminating point ” (p. 44) ; 8th, that, after making the most liberal provision for the administration and for the development of the resources of the country, including the construction of the Khamgaon and Jhelum State Railway, *all paid from current income*, the little valley has since the date of its assignment paid as surplus revenue into the treasury of the Nizam no less a sum than a quarter of a million sterling. We must also note that “ a still further balance in favour of His Highness may be expected shortly to be available, inasmuch as the realizations of the past year have considerably exceeded what had been anticipated, and a fresh excess of revenue over expenditure has been the result.” (page 7.)

In considering facts like these, we think that we have deemed our promise to show that Mr. Saunders' administration is characterised by solid, tangible, and yearly increasing success. We cordially endorse the following sentence, almost the only self-congratulatory paragraph in which Mr. Saunders' unobtrusive modesty has allowed him to indulge :—“ If every administration in India could be made “ to supply its own wants as effectively as Berar does, to contribute to the defence of the empire at large in the same proportion in which Berar does to that of His Highness the Nizam's territory, and, lastly, to yield without anything approaching to “ direct taxation being resorted to, as considerable a cash balance* “ as that which accrues from Berar, then one of the pressing “ administrative problems of the present day would be solved.”

* Mr. Saunders probably means a surplus. A “cash balance” in British India Proper is of no use. It is like a female child, of no good in the past and with no influence for the future,—a thing to be done to death, drowned

at the bottom of the financial sea of troubles. Judging from the last Budget, however, Mr. Saunders is not the only man who confuses a surplus with a cash balance.

Considering, finally, the intimate relations which exist between the "Assigned Districts" and the other parts of the Nizam's dominions, coupled with the fact that the excellence of the administration of these districts forms almost a solitary instance of excellence throughout all such parts of British India as are known to us, we think that we are justified in attributing such excellence at least in some measure to the fact that the energy and ingenuity of the local administration are guided and controlled, both with respect to what is done and with respect to what is left undone, by the archaic principles of orientalism which radiate from the Court of His Highness the Nizam.

We have lingered long over that portion of the Report which treats of revenue and finance, both because the welfare of a country depends more upon a sound system of finance than upon any other single department of the administration; and because matters relating to finance—including the question of local taxation—possess at this moment a large amount of interest for Bengal; while in the Berars—with the non-existence of the income-tax and all forms of fancy taxation—with a low rate of land-tax and of the salt tax—with special cesses completely incorporated with the land-tax—with an expansive revenue and an annual surplus—we discern a microcosm almost perfect in the working of its financial parts.

We have left ourselves, therefore, space only to glance at a few of the most prominent subjects treated of in the other chapters of "Division First."

The Legislative Acts of the Governor-General in Council do not as a mere consequence of being passed, become applicable to the Berars. This, of course, is because the Berars are not ours, but the Nizam's. Through the interposition of the "Foreign Office," however, by which we suppose is meant 'with the sanction of his Highness the Nizam,' such Acts as are deemed suitable to the Berars are "extended" to them by special order. Thus, during the year under review, the Berars received the benefit of the amendments to the Code of Criminal Procedure, the Succession Act, the Prisoners' Testimony Act, the Vagrancy Act and the Court Fees Act.

Litigation has decreased during the past year both in the number of suits and in the value of the *choses in action*. More than half the suits were for the recovery of simple loans or bond debts. "Debtors are little given to disavowing their bonds," and this fact, as we are somewhat unnecessarily told, "facilitates the working of the Courts." Seventy-three persons sued to recover their paternal acres; 72 to foreclose mortgages; and one, lonely, love-lorn Benedick—but only one—to recover his conjugal rights. Mr. Lyall, the Commissioner of West Berar, is vexed because the people will not settle their disputes by arbitration, holding that the officers

who have to decide suits, have of all others "the least chance of hitting off the truth," and this "because the Judge has nothing to go on, but what he hears in Court." Very sad, if true! Fine sentiments these for the High Court to study! "Hitting off the truth." What a shocking phrase! And the bare idea of a Judge by any possibility having anything to "go on" in deciding a case except what he hears in Court, is enough to make our Barrister judges fly back to the benches (not the bench) of Westminster Hall, there to sport empty silk-bags, in a bracing atmosphere of pure law. The writer of this article remembers some ten years ago to have tried a case, recording evidence for prosecution and for defence with equal prolixity and care, followed by an elaborate judgment such as only a youthful district officer can pen, all strictly based on the evidence and in accordance with the latest laws and rulings. As a reason for the belief that was in him regarding the said case, he foolishly added to his masterly analysis of the evidence—"In addition to this, I saw it all myself." These words condemned the case; the innocent Judge was at once declared to be a party to the case—*particeps criminis*, it is to be supposed; he should have submitted himself to examination as a witness in order to clear himself of all suspicion; the trial was a farce, an outrage on the plainest principles of jurisprudence, if not on the British constitution itself; the judgment must be reversed and the prisoners go free. The moral of this little story is, that if the Judge happen to have something to "go on" besides what he hears in Court, he had better keep it to himself and not let it appear on the record.

The Resident, while thinking that "it might be possible to devise some mode of making the local knowledge and experience which belong to the native more directly available than now to the foreign Judge," draws attention to the "advantages of officers . . . endeavouring as much as possible to see things with their own eyes and make themselves practically conversant with the usages and conditions of life prevailing among the people whose interests are committed to them;" and he seems to think that if this personal experience were secured, we might accept the decision of the natives themselves in favour of our courts and against the courts of arbitrators without complaining that the decision ought to be against our courts and in favour of arbitrators. In this view of the matter we fully concur.

With the details of the "average duration of cases," we will not trouble our readers, feeling that a person who knows the average duration of, say, three cases, and a person who knows the average height of, say, three mountains, possesses each an item of knowledge of no appreciable value. We mention the subject at all only for the sake of quoting one of the numerous short, pointed, sensible remarks which abound in Mr. Saunders' report. Regarding the cases of the

Small Cause Courts, he says, "quite as low an average as is to be desired was attained."

Registration of Deeds has been in force only two years. During the first year the outlay exceeded the income in consequence of heavy initial expenses; but in the second year the income exceeded the outlay by Rs. 2,656. Here, again, we find Mr. Saunders' careful management of his finances forcing itself on our attention.

"Criminal Justice" naturally occupies a considerable portion of the report. Heinous crime generally is reported to be considerably on the decrease, though thefts and burglaries are an exception. Petty crime appears to be greatly on the increase, but the increase is mainly under the head of offences against municipal laws, and the Resident very properly remarks that these "cannot legitimately be accepted as swelling the general register of crime, since they evince only the introduction of sanitary reform, where previously less care had been expended in that direction." Fines are only realized to the extent of two-thirds of the amounts imposed, because "the disparity between the Magistrate's and the accused's ideas of the value of money may sometimes lead to the imposition of a fine out of all just proportion with the means of the person fined." This remark should be specially noted by all or nearly all Magistrates in Bengal, where the list of uncollected fines is very long, and great hardship is inflicted on the people by attempt to realize fines far beyond the means of payment possessed by the unfortunate persons from whom the fines are due. Whipping is a point of contention among authorities there, as among authorities elsewhere. One ferocious Commissioner wishes to inflict a hundred lashes at a time rather than allow the criminal population to occupy the jails, whose "comfortable quarters" and "best food the country could provide" afford, he tells us, encouragement to crime. The Resident admits only that there may be "something"—he does not say what—in the Commissioner's views, declines to issue any instructions on the subject of whipping, says "nice consideration" is called for in every separate case, and that there must have been "something defective in the interior economy of the jail" which attracted persons by its comfortable quarters, and the best food which the country could supply.

The Police numbers 2,625 of all ranks, or one man to every 858 of the population. These cost about Rs. 4,18,000 chargeable to the general revenues; Rs. 62,200, chargeable to local funds; and Rs. 6,000, chargeable to the Railway Company, the exact total being Rs. 4,86,398. As the inhabitants of the Happy Valley "are extremely well disposed," and "the majority have something more attractive and profitable to care for than the commission of crime," the principal work of the Police consists in watching certain wandering tribes of foreign professional criminals, by whom, mainly, the

crime of the country is committed. These are the Banjarees or wandering rice-dealers, Rahturs and Meenas. The Police of the Berars are said to excel in "smartness of appearance," and in performing duties required of them during fairs, visitations of cholera and other emergencies. They have also kept on good terms with the Magistrates, herein showing their good sense. But in the Berars, as elsewhere, they are deficient in detective skill—a fact which the Resident plausibly explains by saying that we have put an end to all native modes of detection, torture being the chief, and have not trained the Police in our own more humane, if not always so successful, expedients.

"Jails" are not overlooked in the general work of administration, and though not much is said on the subject, we find enough to warrant the inference that the Resident has to fight the same battle as we on this side of India have to fight, against the tendency to make jails "pay" as a first consideration. He prefers extra-mural to intra-mural labour, because the latter does not, equally with the former, realize "what is contemplated by a sentence of hard labour;" and he most properly insists that if increased receipts from jails be obtainable, they must be gained "without at all endangering the objects for which prisons themselves are maintained, namely, the infliction of *bonâ fide* punishment on all who are "consigned to them for that purpose."

We must now pause, leaving many great heads of administration untouched. Those persons, who are interested in learning further details of the comprehensive and penetrating government of the Berars, will find what they seek under the following heads of the report which we can only name—Public Works; Irrigation; Communications; Railways; Local and Municipal Funds; Education—Mr. Saunders encouraging Vernacular rather than English education; and Cotton, regarding which a most interesting contribution to the report has been furnished by Mr. H. Rivett Carnac. A chapter on matters "Ecclesiastical" gives the Resident an opportunity of tendering the "best thanks of the administration" to the Rev. H. T. James, the Chaplain of Berar," the only officer of the whole administration who, as far as we have observed, has received anything more than a casual, adjectival commendation at least in the body of the report. The Post Office and the Electric Telegraph are not forgotten; "Survey and Assessment" are fully recorded; while as to "Agriculture," "Arboriculture" and "Archæology," "The Improvement of the Breed of Horses, Horned Cattle and Sheep," "Fairs," "Hospitals and Charitable Dispensaries," "Public Health and Sanitation," "Vaccination and Trade Statistics"—are they not all written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Resident at Hyderabad?

Here we must part company with the Resident in his capacity

of chief-administrator of the Berars, and in so doing we congratulate him on the eminently successful results of a careful administration; we congratulate His Highness the Nizám, on his enjoying the assistance and support of so able a British officer as Resident at his court; and we congratulate the great body of the people over whom the Resident rules—the inhabitants of the Happy Valley.

PART II.—THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS PROPER.

The word "Nizám," when properly used, is the addition to the style or title of the prince of the Dakhan, and is not itself that style or title. The correct title is "Nawáb"—the 'Nabob' of anglicised Hindustani. The word Nizám means a governor, regulator, or administrator, and should be connected with the words "ul-mulk," the whole phrase, 'Nizám-ul-mulk,' meaning "Administrator of the Empire." It is analogous to the phrase "Defender of the Faith," which a fiction of our British constitution has assigned as an addendum to the titles of the reigning sovereign. But the reigning sovereign is not known to her subjects as shortly the "Defender"; neither is the prince of Hyderabad known to his subjects as the 'Nizám.' They speak of him as the 'Nawáb,' or, reverentially, as the "Huzúr" or Presence. Nizám is thus not analogous to a family name like Smith. Nizams, of whom there have been seven, have individual names of their own. It may not be unnecessary to add that the 'i' should not be pronounced as the 'i' in "high," but as the 'i' in "pin;" and that the 'a' has the sound of the 'a' in "war." We shall not, however, aim at greater precision than has sufficed for Mr. Saunders, but shall, after giving the above explanation, fall in with the established custom of calling the Nawáb of Hyderabad shortly "The Nizám."

The Muhammadan dynasty of Ghuzni had given place to that of Gour, the latter had been followed by the "slave kings" of Indian history, and they in their turn had been replaced by the house of Khilji, when, towards the close of the 13th century, the Muhammadan conquerors of India first turned their devastating power against the country of the Dakhan. Ala-ud-din, a nephew of Feroz Shah, the first ruler of the House of Khilji, made an irruption into the Dakhan, carried off immense booty, returned to Delhi, murdered his uncle, and mounted the throne. From this expedition as a beginning, follow the numerous attempts made by different kings of Delhi to secure the subjection of the Dakhan to their rule. But it may be said that whether they had to deal with the original Hindu princes or with the Muhammadan commanders, who, having overcome these Hindu princes, themselves assumed a local royalty, the subjection of the Dakhan to the court of Delhi—at times denied and at times for the sake of prestige admit-

ted—never continued for any length of time to be more than nominal. The attempt made by Muhammad Toghluks to transfer not only the royal throne, but the inhabitants of Delhi, to Dowlatabad, and its miserable failure are familiar to the readers of Indian history. Had it succeeded even partially, the complete subjection of the Dakhan might have been secured. But as a result of the failure of this great but impracticable attempt, the successor of Muhammad was compelled to acknowledge the practical independence of the Dakhan, whether still under the old Hindu princes, or under the men who had started from Delhi in order to reduce these princes to subjection to the Emperor. Timur took Delhi only to abandon it. Baber was fully occupied in forcibly holding together the incongruous and deciduous states of the Mughal empire in the north. Akbar, however, found time to resume the oft-attempted struggle to effect the subjugation of the Dakhan, and ended by assuming the style of Emperor of the South and marrying the daughter of the prince of Beejapore.

These events bring us down to the beginning of the 17th century, Akbar having died in 1607.

The insecure tenure by which the paramount power at Delhi held the suzerainty of the Dakhan, is well illustrated by the fact, that notwithstanding the success which attended the arms of Akbar, his grandson Shahjahan was obliged to make a fresh inroad into the country in order to crush the rebellious spirit shown by the local chiefs. A General of the name of Lodi refused to acknowledge Shahjahan as the successor of Jahangir, the son of Akbar, and Shahjahan appears first to have endeavoured by pretended friendship, combined with slight and insult, to drive this officer into seclusion. When, on the contrary, this treatment drove Lodi to open warfare, Shahjahan followed him to the Dakhan with an immense army, and stayed his hand from devastating the country, only when famine and disease left little or nothing for him to destroy. For a time diverted from the south by the growing importance of the Portuguese, Shahjahan, at a later period of his reign, returned to the Dakhan, conquered, deposed and reinstated nearly all the petty princes of the country, compelling them to regard themselves as feudatories of the Empire and to pay tribute to the Exchequer of Delhi. Even after these events, which might have been supposed sufficient to secure at least rest to the unhappy Dakhan, we find Aurangzeb, who was his father's lieutenant in those parts, and his son Muhammad, continuing the war, and sacking the towns of Hyderabad, Golconda, and Beejapore.

With the details of the wars of the four sons of Shahjahan, or with the long captivity of that Emperor, we have nothing to do. Suffice it to know that that captivity ended only with the death of the Emperor, and that the fortune of war and a

rare skill in crafty intrigue, enabled Aurangzeb to rid himself of his brothers one after the other, and place himself in undisputed possession on the throne of Delhi.

At the same time as Aurangzeb was thus raising himself to supreme power in the north, the Mahrattas, under the celebrated Sivajee, were making sad havoc in the south. The treacherous murder of Afzul Khan, the Muhammadan Governor of Beejapore, by the tiger-claws of Sivajee, is a familiar episode in the history of the period, while his subsequent reconciliation with the Court of Delhi did not prevent him from continuing to his dying hour a desultory but devastating warfare against the Muhammadan powers of the south.

In 1680 Sivajee died, and was succeeded by his son Sumbajee. Affairs in the south now rapidly grew worse. The Rajput tribes began to rise into importance, and when defeated by the Muhammadan arms, made one cause with Sumbajee. War followed. Aurangzeb in person, with his son Shah Alum as his lieutenant, was commander-in-chief of the forces; and again we read the old story of battles and sieges in and around Beejapore and Golconda,—places which though often taken still remained to be subdued. The war, as far as regards the Dakhan, ended with the defeat, capture and martyrdom of Sumbajee. It was resumed some years later in the Mahratta country proper—Sattara and Ahmadnagar—and during its course the old Emperor died, leaving the Mughal Empire at the zenith of its fame. We have now reached that point in our short sketch of the early history of the Dakhan at which the troubled states which have in later times come to be known as the Nizám's Dominions, began to present at least the appearance of regular government.

Some time subsequent to the death of Aurangzeb, one of the generals who had assisted him in his last war in the Dakhan, by name Asaf Jah, was appointed by the court of Delhi Subadár of the Dakhan, with the title of Nizám-ul-mulk. Even by this time the huge mass of empire which had acknowledged Aurangzeb as its master, had begun to crumble to pieces; and Asaf Jah, though he owed his fortune to the share which he had had in the last wars of Aurangzeb, was nevertheless not slow to take advantage of the universal defection, and assert his independence of the Court of Delhi.

Thus it has been truly said that whether the Dakhan was in the possession of its ancient Hindu kings, who cut the rock temples of Adjunta and called Dowlatabad Devghar, or under Muhammadan satraps who received their commissions direct from the Emperor, the hold which the Court of Delhi had upon the country was at all times a weak one, and the nominal sovereignty which that Court claimed was to it a source of certain trouble and of very

uncertain profit. But from the time of the first Nizâm—say 1715—it may be said that the active potential influence of the Court of Delhi all but entirely ceased.

Following the unvarying example of the imperial family under like circumstances, the relatives of Asaf Jah (who died in 1748) disputed among themselves the succession to the quasi-royal dignity of Souba of the Dakhan, and this struggle is remarkable as that which gave the first opportunity to European nations to interfere in the already sufficiently vexed tide of affairs in the unhappy Dakhan. Mozuffur Jung as the grandson, and Nazir Jung as the son—albeit the second son—of the deceased Asaf Jah, were the rival claimants. Dupleix, for reasons altogether unconnected with the interests of the Dakhan, espoused the cause of the former; the English, simply because Dupleix supported Mozuffur Jung, threw their arms into the scale on the side of Nazir Jung. Fortune, though it can hardly be called the fortune of war, at first favoured the English and their *protégé* Nazir Jung, into whose hands Mozuffur Jung surrendered himself, and by whom he was kept in durance vile. Nazir Jung's prosperity, however, was of short duration, for having alienated the sympathy of his English allies by refusing to make the territorial grants demanded in return for the support which had been given, Nazir Jung was left to fight his own battles. The arms and deceit of Dupleix, aided by treachery within the camp of Nazir Jung, carried the day. Nazir Jung fell by the hand of an assassin, and Mozuffur Jung became the 'Nizâm-ul-mulk.' He did not live long to enjoy his new dignity, perishing in a mutiny of his own troops. The French, whose influence in the south was at this time in the ascendant, placed a third son of Asaf Jah, by name Salabut Jung, upon the throne, and by so doing secured to themselves certain valuable territorial grants in the Sircars. At this time the French and English, the latter under the guidance of Clive, were engaged in that final struggle for supremacy in Southern India, the details of which are familiar to all readers of Indian history or Macaulay's Essays. Hyderabad enjoyed a little unquiet rest, disturbed for a time by the appearance on the scene of the eldest son of Asaf Jah to dispute the Souba-ship with his younger brother. Salabut, however, poisoned him, and, still under the patronage of Dupleix, continued to enjoy his almost royal state. But the eventual successes of the English in their war with the French resulted first in the withdrawal by the French of the troops which had been set apart for the protection of the interests of Salabut Jung, and secondly in that Nizâm executing a treaty conferring certain maritime districts as a perpetual gift on the English, and binding himself not to allow the French again to enter his dominions. Thus without the necessity of actually carrying the war into the Dakhan,

though not absolutely without fighting,* the English were enabled both to extend the limits of their own Empire, and to recover their influence over the affairs of the Nizam. The treaty here referred to is the first treaty into which the English entered with a Nizám and may be read at length in the fifth volume of Aitchison's *Treaties*.

A fifth son of the patriarchal Asaf Jah now appears on the scene. His name also was Asaf Jah, but he is more familiarly known to history as the Nizám Ali Khan. He succeeded his brother Salabut in 1761. Basalut Jung, the sixth and last son of Asaf Jah, contented himself with holding the Sircar of Guntoor as a jágir : and Nizám Ali was allowed to enjoy his Nawábship without a rival.

Nizám Ali had a long and troubled reign, which ended in 1803. Though characterised by that duplicity and treachery which reach their highest development in oriental princes, he was, in the main, a firm ally of the British. During this period the history of Southern India is chiefly concerned with the rise and fall of Hydar Ali and Tippoo Sultan, whose capital Seringapatam was stormed in 1799. Previous to the breaking out of the wars with Tippoo Sultan a tripartite treaty had been entered into between Lord Cornwallis, the Nizám and the Peishwa, declaring the principles on which territory to be taken in war should be divided among the allies. In terms of this treaty a large tract of land was eventually added to the Nizám's Dominions. Disagreements, however, soon arose between the high contracting parties—disagreements which were regarded by the Nizám as sufficiently serious to warrant his breaking with his English allies and once more fraternizing with the French. But domestic rebellion and the fear of Tippoo, soon brought the Nizám back to his former allies ; and a treaty was concluded, by which the present "subsidiary force" was made a permanent institution at the fixed strength of six battalions ; the French corps was disbanded ; the British were constituted arbitrators between the Nizám and his enemies, and, in general, protectors of the Nizám's dignity and power.† This treaty bears date 1798. It was followed in 1799 by the treaty of Mysore which fixed the share of territory which was to fall to the Nizám as the result of the second successful campaign against Tippoo Sultan. While the arms of the British were thus gradually placing the Nizám in a position of security and stability which had never previously been enjoyed by any Nawáb with that title, the Mahrattas were not slow to observe the course which affairs were taking or to show signs of dissatisfaction. The

* The fall of Masulipatam was at this date.
the main incident of the struggle † Aitchison's *Treaties*, vol. v, p. 49.

wary policy of the English was, however, equal to the emergency; and the bonds which united the British Government and the Nizám were drawn closer than before, by a fresh treaty concluded in 1800. By its terms the subsidiary force was still further increased by two battalions of infantry and one regiment of cavalry, while all the territory acquired by the Nizam under the treaties of Mysore were—subject to some slight modifications, made in order to secure a satisfactory frontier—transferred to the British for its support. In return for this, the Nizám was to be secured in his sovereignty; and, as a check upon any wavering of allegiance, it was stipulated that he should enter into no negotiations with other states except through the medium of his English friends, who were to be regarded as the arbiters of all his disputes.*

Thus, in the year 1800, was the shadowy authority of the Great Mughal replaced by the strong arm of British power, and the Nizám of that day and the Nizáms of subsequent years have been able, under its protectorate, to conduct the government of their country without fear of open war from without or successful rebellion from within. It is true that the Mahratta and Pindari wars of the beginning of the century were not fought altogether without danger to the integrity of the Nizám's Dominions. But the steadfast adherence of the Nizam to his English allies induced him to share our fortune for good or for evil, and the happy result to himself was a large addition to his territory and a release from all troublesome demands of tribute—arrears long maintained by the Peishwa as an ever-ready pretext for war.

Nizám Ali, in whose time our influence at the Court of Hyderabad was placed on a secure and undisputed position, entered on his rest, and on such reward as might be awaiting him, in the year 1803. His son Secundar Jah reigned in his stead, and beyond the Mahratta wars above alluded to as having ended in a large addition to the territories of the Nizám, there is little of interest to record. During his reign the mis-management of the finances by one Chundoo Lall reduced the Government to difficulties,—difficulties which we turned to our advantage by paying nearly two millions sterling to the Nizám and acquiring in return the Northern Sircars, unburdened for the future by any payment to the Nizám.

Nazir-ud-dowlah succeeded to the throne in 1829, but the financial mis-rule of Chundu Lall continued till 1843, when that minister was compelled to resign. It was under the reign of this Nizám that the treaty of 1853 was concluded, defining the position of the Nizám's "contingent"—a body of troops wholly distinct from the "subsidiary force"—and securing the "assignment" of the Berars.

* Aitchison's *Treaties*, vol. v, p. 69.

In 1857 Nazir-ud-dowlah died, and was succeeded by Afzul-ud-dowlah whose death occurred during the year to which Mr. Saunders' report refers and forms the beginning of an era in the history of Hyderabad, whose nature the future has yet to unfold.

That era has dawned full of promise for the future, as a short examination of the report will suffice to show. At the outset, it should be borne in mind, that while all the credit of the administration of the Berars is due to Mr. Saunders and his subordinates, the credit of the administration within the unassigned districts is due in a great measure to the high *native* officers of State who, under the influence and advice of the Resident, conduct the public affairs.

As has been said, the late Nizam died during the course of the year. This was Hyderabad's opportunity. His late Highness was too thoroughly an oriental. His dignity was not compatible with his doing any work. He rarely went beyond the palace grounds, where his pleasure was to be driven about in a "Hansom." His intercourse with his ministers was of the most distant, and frequently of the most unpleasant kind; the minister most in favour with the Resident was, *ipso facto*, least in favour with the Nizam. In his days, as in the days of former Nizams, all Europeans who attended the durbár were compelled to divest themselves of their boots, and sit in tailor-attitude on the floor. Amid this sluggishness of mind and sloth of body there is nothing to surprise us when we hear that little progress or reform could be effected during the life-time of the late Nizam. He grew fat, and died at middle age, clinging with characteristic stubbornness to native quacks and charms, and rejecting the assistance of skilful doctors who might have prolonged his life.

One result of the isolation in which the Nizam spent his time was, that it was deemed necessary to set up in high and almost sole authority one of the native ministers of the Court, a man who had brains enough and sense enough to understand the bearings of modern civilization, and courage enough to beard his master in his retreat, and tell him, if need be, unpalatable truths. Such a man was found in Sir Sálár Jung, whose name is familiar to Indian readers, and whose form and features became known to many of us during his recent visit to Bengal.

That Sir Salar Jung, during his long tenure of office, has performed his difficult duties in a manner creditable to his great talents, and, on the whole, with a steady aim at the welfare of his country, we are fully prepared to grant. That he has deserved the continuous support which he has received from many successive Residents, and from the Governor-General himself, does not admit of a doubt. Yet we cannot abstain from questioning whether it has been good for Sir Salar Jung himself, or

the best arrangement in the interests of the country, that one single subject should have been raised to so high a pre-eminence and allowed to supplant, in a great measure, his master the Nizâm on the one hand, and on the other, the many nobles whose rank and talents warranted their advancing a claim to be classed among the *arkân-i-daulat*—the pillars of the State. The Resident himself admits that rancour, suspicion and intrigue sprang up among the Court nobles, who continually, and to a great extent successfully, laboured to instil doubts as to the fidelity of the reigning minister into the breast of the Nizâm. And the Resident not unnaturally blames the troublesome nobles. It may be allowed us, however, to remark that it is not in human nature wholly to resist the passion of jealousy, and that if these nobles had an honourable ambition to share in the toils of Government, it must have been hard indeed for them not only to endure exclusion from power, but to see one of their number selected as the only one fit for office, loaded with honours and endowed with all the authority of the State. We sympathize with the disappointed nobles, and hold that Sir Salar Jung must have enjoyed great good fortune and immense material support to have escaped, as he has done, the fate of a Cardinal Wolsey. As we shall presently see, a much more healthy state of affairs has been brought into existence since the death of the late Nizâm.

On the occurrence of that auspicious event, the Resident called together a council to arrange the details of his visit of condolence to the infant son and heir, and with most commendable promptitude availed himself of this first possible opportunity of at once and for ever abolishing the old etiquette which required officers of all ranks to take off their boots before coming into the presence of the Nizâm. The Amirs at first opposed the innovation, and desired a postponement of the question until the infant heir should attain his majority. But the resident was firm, and when next day the contemplated visit was paid, the condoling party, with their boots on their feet, sat in chairs of European manufacture. At a more formal *darbar* held a few days after for the purpose of placing the infant on the *musnad* or official seat, the same course was followed, and that without calling forth any special remark. "Thus," says the Resident (page 168), "a usage which has excited much hostile criticism, and which was hardly consonant with the character belonging to the representatives of the paramount power, has at last been quietly numbered with the other 'obsolete customs of former times.'"

To those who took part in the political agitation which was raised about the year 1864 over this question, it will be satisfactory to know that a similar controversy cannot again occur on the same subject. If the custom of removing the boots was regarded

as equivalent to an admission of inferiority to the Nizám on the part of the Resident, then undoubtedly the custom was intrinsically objectionable. But, regarded as simply a part of the customary Court etiquette—drawing a reasonable support from the fact that the floor is spread with the whitest of white damask cloth—an etiquette which those who visit at the court are in common politeness bound to observe—the practice is divested of much that at first sight seems objectionable. On the whole we may conclude that the question was of so unimportant a nature that Mr. Saunders and his predecessors did well not to press for its solution during the life-time of the late Nizám, and that Mr. Saunders did exactly as he ought to have done, when he insisted on the abolition of the practice at his very first interview with the infant prince.

The visit of condolence and the installation of the infant Nizám having been duly gone through, the arrangements for carrying on the government during the long minority which lies before the child had to be made. The arrangements which were made seem to be most judicious. From the previous history of the Nizamát, we should have expected to find Sir Salar Jung installed as practically 'prince regent,' to rule and govern alone, as to him seemed best for his country, himself and his family.

The first point to be noted is that the Amirs, or nobles of the country, were taken into council; and the arrangements which were made were made in accordance with the views of this representative assembly: the second point to note is, that with Sir Salar Jung, who may be considered as representing the English influence at the court of Hyderabad, has been associated in the Government, the leader of the opposition, Shams-ul-umará (the Sun of the Peerage). As descended from the ancient nobility, and known, therefore, as the Amír-i-kabír, and (strange to say) "as the acknowledged head of the party in Hyderabad affairs which may be said to represent the late Nizám's own personal views and interests," the Sun of the Peerage "formed a tower of strength to the new administration as soon as he consented to hold a place in it;" and we are further told that the mere fact that this nobleman has been associated with the Government, will suffice to prevent the formation of intrigues against it by the less enlightened members of the Hyderabad community. In the time of the mutiny the Shams-ul-umará of the day "directed the whole weight of his influence to thwarting the plots of the seditious," and the services of the father "have been signally added to and sustained by his son.....during the past year." We should have been glad if Mr. Saunders had thought fit to explain why the plan of associating this nobleman, whose influence seems all for good, with the administration, was not accomplished

at an earlier date, and why, with such men as he at hand, it has been necessary to foster the influence of Sir Salar Jung alone, and support him in his undivided authority, even at the cost of the intrigues, rancour and suspicion which the policy aroused at Court.

"The guardianship of the Nizam's person and the responsibility of the administration of the country until he shall come of age," have been entrusted to Shams-ul-umará and Sir Salar Jung conjointly, and we trust that the Residents will be as careful in future to cement and consolidate this alliance between the representative of oriental and the representative of English ideas, as in past time they have been solicitous to put their faith in Sir Salar Jung, and him alone.

A stipulation has been made that as soon as the young Nizam shall have reached a suitable—though unfortunately undefined—age, an English tutor shall be employed in his instruction. This arrangement would certainly commend itself to us, were we sure that the newspaper writers are altogether wrong in the reports which they from time to time give us of the "priggishness" of the young prince of Mysore.

But in addition to this decentralization of the powers of Sir Salar Jung by associating with him Shams-ul-umará, the great branches of State administration have been divided into four separate departments, and at the head of each has been placed one of the "more promising of the young Amirs"—Justice, civil and criminal, forms one department; "Revenue" another; "Military Affairs and Police" a third; and Miscellaneous heads—as public works, education, dispensaries, sanitation and village-roads, constitute the fourth. These arrangements command our admiration. The administration is left entirely in the hands of the native, and we may say natural, leaders of the people; progress in harmony with the native instincts and sympathies will be secured; many causes of jealousy and intrigue are done away with, and a career, open to talent, has been extended before the vision of those who are ambitious of serving their country in the administration of its affairs. One great blot upon the general management of our Indian Empire is that we have excluded the upper class of natives from many, if not all, of those careers, to follow which their pride and their instincts incline them. The army and the civil administration may be said to be the two spheres in which, and in which alone, the Musalman of good family will willingly exert himself. These we have taken from him, and offer him instead the shop and the pleaders' benches, both of which he despises. We have filled the country with empty hands, and wonder that Satan finds for them work of a kind which is displeasing to us. We have distrusted, and are distrusted in turn; we have studiously degraded and emasculated a noble race, making

it in the land in which it once reigned in splendour, little better than the sons of Ishmael or Ham. We have petted and caressed the cruel, effeminate, unbelieving Hindu, and have, to say the least, neglected a nation not dissimilar from ourselves in religion and bodily prowess. Hyderabad will, however, become a happy exception to the general rule, for there, as we have seen, the whole supervision and all the details of the departments are in the hands of native nobles, while any one whose ambition it is to raise himself into a power in the state, will find the course open to such talents as he may possess.

Thus we may say again in our own words, that the year under report will constitute the beginning of an era in the history of Hyderabad, the nature of which the future has yet to unfold; or we may use the words of Mr. Saunders, and say that "some of the old political evils of Hyderabad may be said to have died a natural death, and when the present Nizám succeeds to the management of his own country, he will do so under advantages which have never fallen to the lot of his predecessors." Mr. Saunders is fortunate in knowing that the historian of the future will not fail to connect his name with the wise reforms and judicious arrangements which have been made at the commencement of this new era.

Mr. Saunders makes special mention of a tour which, as most of us know, Sir Salar Jung lately made through Upper India to Calcutta. Previous to this tour he had never been more than twenty miles' journey from Hyderabad. Mr. Saunders is very hopeful that great good resulted from this tour; and falls into the mistake very common to Englishmen (or Scotchmen, if Mr. Saunders be a Scotchman) of thinking that our noble institutions have only to be seen to be admired. To some at least of those who had an opportunity of meeting Sir Salar Jung in Calcutta, it was plain that with him seeing was *not* believing; that he considered his dignity not sufficiently recognized—there were so many giants in Calcutta in those days that the result could hardly have been otherwise—and that the chief pleasure connected with the tour would be "the pleasure of having it over."

In Hyderabad the department of law is reported to be bad, because learned Musalmans are scarce, and some take bribes; execution of decrees "is always precarious, occasionally even impossible." But Sir Salar Jung proposes to establish a law college for the training of youths for judicial appointments. We get no information as to the forms or procedure observed in the courts, but we may safely assume that Alkorán forms the basis of both criminal and civil law. The jails are small, they are dungeons rather than jails; but prisoners work out of doors which is a mitigation of the pains of imprisonment in the Nizám's country. Capital sentences are rare.

Decapitation is the mode by which they are executed. Whipping is not recognized as a legal punishment, but as a means of testing guilt. Fines and imprisonment are the common modes of punishment.

The public revenue from all branches—land, excise, customs, octroi, municipal funds and stamps—amounts to £1,256,000 per annum. Formerly it was farmed, and the usual difficulties attending the system of farming followed. Now it is collected by Government servants settled in the various fiscal districts into which the country has been divided. The Nizám's Dominions enjoy a surplus. The trade of the country amounts to £3,250,000 sterling, annually. Beder is famous for ornamental cups and vases; Hyderabad and Aurungabad for embroidery; Nandair for cloth; Warangul for carpets. "The last-named would be appreciated wherever introduced." Forest conservancy has made a beginning. Steps are being taken to test the truth of the prevailing belief that coal exists in the country. In addition to "the subsidiary force" and the "contingent," a native army numbering nearly 44,000 men is maintained—not fully officered and regularly drilled; but existing and, we presume, paid. Doubtless Sir Salar Jung will soon see his way to rid the country of this army which must be unnecessary for all purposes except those of pomp and display. There is also "another military establishment," known as the "Nizám's reformed troops," which seems to possess a complete military organization, and no small degree of discipline. The Police is said to possess a "fair share of organization," and on the whole to work very well. It is to be wished that the same could be said for the Police of Bengal. Mail robberies seem to be common. For the suppression of thuggy and dacoity a special agency exists. The Resident, in conjunction with a law-officer of his Highness, forms the court for the trial of offenders brought to justice through this agency. Its cost is a charge on the Indian Exchequer. We should like to know why.

In the Department of Public Works the Nizám enjoys the assistance of an English engineer as secretary. But the tanks are in a neglected condition. The roads are in good order, and considerable sums of money are spent annually on the repair of the six main lines of communication which traverse the country.

Did space allow, we should be glad to notice in detail the State Railway, now in course of construction with the view of connecting Hyderabad with the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. The cost is estimated at one million sterling; and this money has been raised by open loan from the moneyed classes of Hyderabad. Thus a fresh impetus has been given to local native enterprise, and a large portion of the people has acquired a personal and individual interest in the maintenance of peace and of the

established government of Hyderabad. We presume that it was due to the sound policy of Mr. Saunders that this million was not raised in the London market. The line is to be constructed by "the British Government"—not a *very* incorrect phrase in India for the Department of Public Works. This arrangement, Mr. Saunders thinks, (we hope, but scarcely believe that his expectations will be realized) will ensure that the line be "well and economically constructed." The management of the line is to be entrusted to a European staff, the profits (if any) going to the Nizam; who, we suppose, must find the cash to meet any losses which may occur. And we warn Sir Salar Jung and the Shams-ul-umará, who receive high praise from the Resident for their intelligent assistance given in connection with the initiatory stages of the scheme, that unless they insist upon holding control over all the financial arrangements of the line, the losses will be great, and the railway come to be looked upon with disfavour and disgust. The engine-driving may safely be left to Europeans, but not even the "British Government" should be trusted to do as it chooses with 'other people's money.'

Opposed as we are to the railway policy of the Government of India, which would throw railways and debt broad-cast over the land, we are pleased to see that progress has been made where a railway is really required; and, provided the financial arrangements are carried out on as sound and as *native* a basis as the initiatory loan, we believe that that railway will do much to develop the resources of Hyderabad and secure stability of Government and the blessings of peaceful industry to "the greatest of all the native states."

"Private or indigenous schools are to be met with all over the country" (p. 188). There are also 72 (Hyderabad) Government schools. Sir Salar Jung fosters English education; the scholars pay no fees. Tuition at home is largely resorted to by the better classes, but English is taught by a Hindu or a Musalman, as a prejudice exists against employing Englishmen. There is also an "Engineering College," with a European Principal, from which good results may be anticipated. On the whole, therefore, the purely native state of Hyderabad enjoys at least a widely diffused mechanism for elementary and even scientific education. We trust that the superstructure which has yet to be raised on this basis, will be strictly in harmony with the essentially *native* nature of the foundation.

The "Hyderabad Medical School" was established in 1846. It is presided over by the Residency surgeon. All the branches of medical education are here taught; no fees are paid. "Members of the Committee have declared with surprise that some of the graduates were competent to pass the degree-tests before the

"Board of London or Edinburgh." Students receive their diplomas from the minister. The "Dispensaries," which are in a remarkably flourishing state, are nearly all under the charge of graduates of the Hyderabad Medical School. "Sanitation," or the sweeper's broom, has been carefully applied at least to the city Hyderabad. The art, we trust, will not necessitate in Hyderabad a special department, as it does elsewhere, with highly paid officers, to report the same things and enunciate the same truisms year after year. A little common sense is all we require at present, or for many a day shall require, in India. Not till fresh air, fresh water, drained cesspools and the sweeper's broom have done all they can for the "sanitation" of India, shall we require a "department" for the teaching of scientific sanitation and the compilation of ponderous blue-books. Village roads are supported by a one-per-cent road fund; but we are not told on what the one-per-cent is calculated. The making of such roads costs Rs. 250 a mile. No impressing of labourers is allowed. Rupees 1,18,000 were spent during the year under report in the making and repairing of village roads.

And here we close our imperfect sketch of the history of the Nizám's Dominions. We have traced that history from the first inroads of the Muhammadan conquerors, through the revolting scenes of war, treachery and famine which devastated the country almost without cessation. We have seen how the Nizám, as a quasi-independent prince, dates his origin from about the time of the death of Aurangzeb; how, unsupported, the Nizáms have ever been unable to prevent their territories from being invaded and devastated and dismembered by Mahratta and Mysorean; we have seen how, under temporary hallucination, they looked for stability to the assistance of the French; and how, at last, they discovered that only under the protection of the British power, were strength, peace and prosperity to be found. This, then, is the lesson which the history of Hyderabad teaches to all our allied native princes: that of their own strength none of them could withstand the anarchy which dismembers Indian States whenever a strong central Government is wanting—that if any of them are dreaming of any unknown foreign power as a counterpoise to British supremacy, they will find their dream as futile as Nizam Ali Khan found his, when he fancied that the French could be successfully pitted against the English—and that the British Government is the only one whose strength suffices at once to secure internal stability to our native states, and to restrain from aggression all external powers, whether residing in the continent of India or the steppes of Russia.

To ourselves the lesson is that the annexation of territory and the degradation of native nobility are not necessary either for the

stability of our own rule or for the good government of native states. On the contrary, our place and our power may be found in restraining the evil passions of the turbulent, in supporting and consolidating native states in their autonomy, and in leading and guiding indigenous rulers in the paths of peace and progress.

ART. V.—BERKELEY AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

THE WORKS OF GEORGE BERKELEY, D.D., *formerly Bishop of Cloyne: including many of his writings hitherto unpublished. With Prefaces, Annotations, His Life and Letters and an account of his Philosophy.* By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, M.A., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. In four Volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1871.

THE four handsome volumes which form this edition of the writings of a justly celebrated philosopher of Britain, exhibit marks of great labour and care on the part of the learned Editor. It has been well known for some years past that Professor Fraser was engaged in collecting and annotating for the sake of republishing the various writings of the great English Idealist; and now that the result has been given to the world, we have every reason to be satisfied with the opportunity offered to us of becoming thoroughly acquainted with Berkeley and Berkeleianism. Several writings of considerable importance hitherto unpublished are here presented; and in some of them the enthusiastic admirer of Berkeley may see some interesting stages in his mental history. The whole is so copiously annotated that the most unlearned reader can have no difficulty in tracing obscure allusions, or understanding the bearing of particular passages upon modern philosophical theories. Perhaps much of the life of Berkeley and many of his letters here published will fail to interest those readers to whom the name of Berkeley is simply symbolical of a particular set of philosophical doctrines. This is to be expected, and would probably be the case with reference to any philosopher who has become truly historical. The interests of the individual life have become secondary to that of the permanent treasure of thought which is the result of that life. To bring out clearly what this result is, has been the principal endeavour of the learned Professor in the work before us. And it shall be our endeavour in the present article to present, in brief, an account of Berkeleianism, to show its relations to other modes of thought now current, and to estimate its value from a historical and philosophical point of view.

At the outset we notice a mode of expression which, we think, has been one of the leading causes, not only of a great deal of misunderstanding regarding Berkeley's philosophy, but also of a great deal of confusion in modern psychology generally. We allude to the manner in which Berkeley and others have spoken of the word *mind* and of the *ideas* said to be *contained in the*

mind. As if the mind were a sort of hidden chamber, portioned off into different compartments called faculties, and containing a variety of possessions called sensations or ideas. Many have made use of this form of expression who have had a clear conception of what they meant by it ; but many more, we believe, have been led by it into conceptions utterly false and absurd, and been unable to reconcile Berkeley's psychology with common sense. We are glad to see that Professor Fraser attempts to correct and explain almost every expression of this kind which is likely to mislead.

The leading problem which Berkeley set himself to work out was psychological—he strove to explain the elements of which that acquired power called perception is composed and the manner in which it is acquired. But in doing so he was brought face to face with very important ontological problems, and his deliverance with reference to one of them—the existence of matter—is that by which he is now popularly known. We shall give our attention first to the psychological doctrines with which Berkeley's name is associated, but which he did not explicate as completely or defend as satisfactorily as could be wished. Indeed such explication and defence could not be expected until a variety of attacks rendered them necessary.

Perception, in the common signification of the term, is a very complex power, although to practical men it appears very simple. The practical man takes in at a glance all the circumstances and qualities which constitute his knowledge of an external object—its distance, colour, shape, and a variety of other things. This glance he calls perception ; and he never asks whether it is simple or complex, original or acquired. Philosophers, however, endeavour to analyse and explain this wonderful power. Long before the time of Berkeley attempts had been made to solve the problem ; but Berkeley thought these attempts unsatisfactory. In short he obtained an insight into the origin and character of perception, which had escaped the most acute of his predecessors. To explain. Those organs which we call senses, each give us the knowledge of some particular quality. Sight presents us with colour ; hearing gives us sound ; touch makes known hardness or softness ; through taste and smell we know the peculiar qualities of these senses. Now all these sensations are different ; they are different in kind ; they come to us through different senses ; and we can see no reason *a priori* why they should be constantly associated together.

By many previous philosophers, these sensations or qualities, as they were called, were divided into primary and secondary ; the former being believed to be objective, to be essential to the existence of external objects ; the latter subjective, being only affections

of the mind, occasioned, it is true, by some external cause, but still as sensations purely subjective. It was maintained, moreover, that there was a necessary connection between visible expansive colour and tangible extension, inasmuch as the former was always associated with the latter.

Berkeley's attempt with reference to these doctrines was two-fold; he showed, in the first place, that those qualities called primary and supposed to be objective, are just as truly subjective sensations as those usually recognized to be subjective; he showed further that there is no necessary connection in the nature of things between visible phenomena and tangible phenomena. It is true that *visibilia* always suggest *tangibilia*, that visible extension is always connected with tangible extension. But this connection is solely the result of experience and association—experience and association which undeniably follow from the constitution of our organism, but still to be distinguished from a necessity in the nature of things. To a person born blind tangible extension would be suggested by some other sensation than colour—sound, it may be, or smell. What Berkeley made out is, that any one sensation may be the sign of any other sensation, that this constant association of different sensations is the result of experience acquired long before the time of life when the mind is able to analyse its experience, and that perception as exercised by the mature mind is an acquired power, the original elements of which are sensations, all of them simply and equally subjective in their character, that is, all of them nothing more than sense-given phenomena. Here some questions arise. What is the ground or principle of that experience by virtue of which we come to associate together sensations, and think of them as being qualities of external things? And what is the meaning of that externality and reality which we attribute to things? In attempting to answer these questions, while professing to accord generally with Berkeley's system, we shall take advantage of the subsequent history of philosophy for the purpose of expressing ourselves in more careful and less equivocal language.

All experience has reference to some minds, and Berkeley accounted for the unity or constant association of ideas by their being contained in the same mind. Modern supporters of the psychology which Berkeley attempted to establish, have found reason to express themselves more carefully.

Before the consciousness of every individual there passes a great variety of sense-phenomena. These may be contemporaneous—all witnessed in the same moment by consciousness; they may be successive. But, whether contemporaneous or successive, they must constitute a *diversity* whereby they may be distinguished from one another. They are composed of such well-known sensations as colours, sounds, tactual feelings, smells, muscular sensations, &c.

But in the midst of this diversity consciousness perceives a unity, or rather consciousness *constitutes* a unity.

All these sensations are *mine*, and therefore they are constantly associated together. Thus the diversity of sensations derive their unity, in the first place, from their mutual relation to that permanent unifying principle which philosophers generally have agreed to recognize by the name of the conscious subject or *ego*.

Having advanced thus far, we may look at our position. If Berkeley maintained that this relation of sensations to the ego is the only unity which they possess, the only bond of association by which they are linked together, he is in truth what he has been very generally supposed to be, a subjective idealist; but we maintain that this is not the only unity which he attributed to sensations, and that he is not a subjective idealist.

Berkeley maintained that all *things* are collections of perceived or perceivable *ideas*; or, in other words, that all objects in nature are insensible phenomena. An object can have no existence unless it is related to a percipient mind. But then each conscious-self is aware that the series of sensations which constitutes the elements of his knowledge, is not entirely under his own control. A person cannot refuse to perceive a sweet smell or a beautiful colour; nor yet can he produce these sensations at his will. This independence of sensible phenomena upon the individual mind was fully recognized by Berkeley. He acknowledged that in all our conscious sensations or ideas there is involved a *foreign* element—something which the individual-self did not create and cannot control. The ego in its conscious activity recognizes its sensations and ideas as *its own*, and thus gives them a subjective unity; but the ego also recognizes an objective foreign power as involved in all its states and activities, and in doing so acknowledges an objective unity in the transient series of sense-given phenomena. It is in this objective unity that the reality of *things* consists; and the conscious-self is able to understand no objective unity which does not resemble that which exists in its own subjective series. This at least is the position which Berkeley holds; and this appears to be what he means when he says that sensible objects cannot exist unless they are perceived by some mind.

Let us see what explanation has been given of the objective unity and reality of things by other philosophers. According to that system which Berkeley endeavoured to overthrow, external objects owe this reality to some insensible substance in which they are supposed to inhere. This inert noumenal matter underlies all sense-given phenomena, and is their hidden cause; but, from the nature of the case, can never itself become an object of sense. It has an existence independent of every percipient mind, so that

even the conceived possibility of its being an object of perception would render impossible its existence. Probably the hypothesis of this inconceivable matter took its rise in the relative permanence of tangible as compared with visual phenomena, so that the former came to be looked upon as possessing greater reality than the latter. And probably it gradually grew into shape by the efforts of the conscious-self to explain that objective unity, after the sensible phenomena had, by an illegitimate but natural process of abstraction, been completely objectified or separated from the mind to which in part they owed their very existence.

This hypothetical matter, Berkeley makes every possible effort to overthrow; and the philosophical tyro cannot obtain a more enjoyable philosophical and literary repast than by reading the three dialogues between Hylas and Philonous, in which the enthusiastic and acute spiritualist sweeps that inconceivable absurdity called matter entirely out of existence, or rather shows that it never had any existence except as a baseless figment of the metaphysician's brain. If then the hypothesis of the materialists be an inconceivable and contradictory explanation of the objective unity and reality of things, we are brought back to Berkeley's own attempt to solve the problem.

The solution which Berkeley gives may be very briefly expressed in his own form of language. The existence and reality of things consist in their being perceived—nothing can exist which is not perceived. But objects are not always perceived by my mind, and many objects can never be perceived by any human mind; still their *esse* is *percipi*, and therefore there must be some omnipresent percipient mind in continual relation to them, in order to account for their existence.*

We believe that this explanation is substantially at the bottom of all the religious beliefs of the human race. We see it in the fetichism of the savage, in the more intelligent monotheism of rational men, and in the profound thinking of the most transcendental metaphysician. But in the time of Berkeley, psychology was not so perfect either in its phraseology or its analysis as it has since

* Philonous to Hylas—"I deny that I agree with you in those notions that lead to scepticism. You, indeed, said the *reality* of sensible things consisted in an *absolute existence* out of the mind of spirits, or distinct from their being perceived....But I neither said nor thought the reality of sensible things was to be defined after that manner. To me it is evident, for the reasons you allow of, that sensible things cannot exist otherwise than in

a mind or spirit, whence I conclude not that they have no real existence,' but that, seeing they depend not on my thought, and have an existence distinct from being perceived by me, *there must be some other mind in which they exist.* As sure therefore as the sensible world really exists, so sure is there an infinite omnipresent spirit who contains and supports it."—(Sec. Dia. p. 303.)

become ; and there is unquestionably much in Berkeley's manner of expression which is likely to shock and prejudice the practical mind. We shall try to conceive his principal ontological doctrine in a form which is not inconsistent with our ordinary manner of speaking and thinking.

We saw before that the conscious-self or ego is the unifying principle of the diversity of subjective states and activities. We saw too that this conscious-self in the midst of its sense-given phenomena necessarily recognizes a foreign element which it does not originate and cannot control. The presence of this foreign element is the occasion by virtue of which the conscious-subject objectifies its own sensations, and thinks of them as phenomena of something other than self. In short the diverse series of sensations, recognized as partially foreign in origin, has an ego of its own attributed to it as an explanation of its perceived unity, and this becomes relatively to the subject a non-ego, a real thing. In the childhood of the individual as of the world, every permanent collection of phenomena is looked upon as a living *alter ego*—a fetich invested with life and personality. Experience gradually corrects this conception, but no matter how much experience is acquired the complexity of phenomena can be unified and harmonized in no other way than by the attribution to it of that unity of which we are first conscious in the midst of those subjective phenomena which go to make up what we call our mind.

This attribution of subjective unity to the diversity of objectified phenomena is, we say, the principle by virtue of which we affirm the existence of sensible objects. We give especial unity to each more or less closely associated collection of phenomena, but as experience advances we observe connections to exist between phenomena which formerly appeared distinct. As these connections are observed and verified, we form other and more general unities, but upon exactly the same principle as we learned first to speak of individual things. These higher unities are expressed in various ways—it may be by general names applicable to a great variety of objects; it may be by the statement of a general law by which phenomena are conceived to be bound together. As soon as the individual's experience has become sufficiently extensive, he thinks of all actual or possible objects as being bound together in one great unity, and as constituting the *cosmos*—the universe of things, all related to the universal non-ego and governed harmoniously by the laws of Divine Intelligence. This is monotheism, and although this does not constitute our whole conception of God, we maintain that it is essentially the same principle that leads the child to think of its spoon or its rattle as a *thing* different from itself, and the matured man to look upon the universe as a harmonious whole which receives its existence and its harmony from one all-knowing, all-powerful God.

Thus, according to Berkeley, the whole sensible universe is a language—the language by which God speaks to men. The finite individual-self first puts a meaning and harmony into this language by attributing to it the unity and harmony of which it is conscious in its own subjective cosmos. But as time advances and experience becomes more extensive, the finite person recognizes in the laws of nature a unity and harmony in the universe of things which is independent of his finite consciousness, but which he must still explain by the only analogy within his reach.*

Positive science is the result of man's investigation into the laws of phenomena. Wherever sensible phenomena exist, they form legitimate objects of scientific investigation. The philosophical explanation which Berkeley gives as to the nature of objective reality, does not in the slightest degree invade the domain of the scientific enquirer. The divine ideas which constitute the universe are, according to Berkeley, under the control of the laws of the Divine Intelligence. That means, in ordinary language, that all the objects and changes in the universe have their order of co-existence and succession determined for them by the Governor of nature in accordance with uniform laws. Berkeley, the philosopher, therefore, might, consistently with his philosophy, have become a precise and accurate scientific investigator. That he did not do so, cannot be brought as a reproach against himself, as he had other duties to occupy his life. But he has left a place in his system for a complete body of positive science, and no positive science can ever touch the foundation of his philosophy. The essential distinction between philosophy and positive science is, that in the former all sensible phenomena are studied in their necessary relation to the conscious subject by which they are known; while, in the latter, sensible phenomena are, by a logical abstraction, separated from the conscious-self, and studied as if they had an independent existence. Now it so happens that all

* "The only conceivable and practical, and for us the only possible, substantiality in the material world is—permanence of co-existence or aggregation among sensations; and the only conceivable and practical, and for us the only possible, causality among phenomena is—permanence or invariableness among their successions. . . . The substantiality and causality of matter thus resolve into a universal sense-symbolism, the interpretation of which is the office of physical science. The material world is a system of interpretable signs, dependent for its

actual existence in sense upon the mind of the interpreter: but significant of guaranteed pains and pleasures, and the guaranteed means of avoiding and attaining pains and pleasures; significant too of other minds, and their thoughts, feelings, and volitions; and significant, above all, of supreme mind through whose activity the signs are sustained and whose archetypal ideas are the order of those universal or invariable relations of theirs which made them both practically and scientifically significant or objective." (Editor, vol. iv. p. 375.)

men naturally make this logical abstraction in the affairs of everyday-life, and it requires an effort to bring together again the two essential elements of all existence, which, by the laws of our nature, have been separated. Thus it is much easier to become a scientific man than a philosopher; much easier to study the laws of those phenomena which to ordinary practical minds appear abstracted from the intelligence by virtue of which they exist, than to bring together in their original synthesis of existence those elements which, by the laws of our nature, have been abstracted.

But if the philosopher thus willingly acknowledges the right of the scientific man to apply his most vigorous canons of induction to all sensible phenomena, whether past, present or future; the scientific man as such has no right to intrude on the domain of the philosopher or to refuse to acknowledge his sphere. There is a system much in vogue in the present day, miscalled philosophical, which goes by the name of Positivism. In so far as it is positive science, it is legitimate, as the whole universe of phenomena is spread out before us for the purpose of being studied; and every effort should be made to ascertain the laws of those phenomena, independently altogether of any ontological explanation which may be given of them. It matters not to what conclusions a strict adherence to scientific truth may lead us; it matters not what we may discover regarding the origin and past history of the globe upon which we tread, or of the physical organism which we call our bodies, or of the moral and religious beliefs which constitute our most sacred mental treasures. All these subjects come legitimately within the sphere of phenomenal science, and although scientific men pursue these subjects to their utmost limit, philosophers have no right to complain, nay they ought to assist their fellow-searchers after truth in arriving at the goal towards which they both profess to be striving.

But Positivism is not contented with the sphere of legitimate positive science. Positivism professes to be a system of universal knowledge, and to comprehend within its sphere all the objects and all the instruments of knowledge which may be studied or employed by the human mind. And yet Positivism excludes as an instrument of knowledge that which is the chief instrument of philosophy—consciousness. And it attempts to explain all the problems of psychology by a physical examination of the brain, by a study of different parts of the organism, by examining the relations which the individual sustains to society. If the Positivist instrument of knowledge be the only one, if consciousness be not an independent source of knowledge whose sphere can never be invaded by the microscope or the dissecting knife, then Positivism is the only legitimate science, and all men's notions about the universe receiving its existence and its explanation from

some all-knowing mind are mere dreams and delusions. But we maintain that as long as human nature is constituted as it is, consciousness must be accepted as an independent authority, and the Positivist cannot even employ language without assuming truths and facts which could never be known without that instrument of knowledge which he discards.*

But if we are bound to protect philosophy from the sweeping exclusiveness of Positivism, no less necessary is it to guard positive science from the encroachments of philosophy. In order to understand the danger to be guarded against, let us study the development of which Berkeleianism is capable.

According to the system which Berkeley chiefly opposed, mind was regarded as one thing, matter as another and a different thing; they were believed to exist independently of one another, to be separated from one another, as has been said, "by the whole diameter of being," to exist under different conditions and to be governed by different laws. But this was shown to be a false contradictory way of thinking. The existence of matter as an insensible substratum of phenomena was shown to be impossible. The existence of mind, independent of its own phenomena, is also inconceivable. The essential characteristic of mind is that conscious unifying principle which gives consistence and harmony to the variety of sense-given phenomena. But the conscious subject recognizes these sense-given phenomena as having a relation also to a true non-ego—that non-ego being necessarily constituted by the same unity as that of the subjective ego. The particular non-ego becomes, by an inductive process, the universal non-ego, or rather the non-ego of the universe. But still the individual subject is bound to attribute to this higher non-ego, the same unity which constitutes itself. And the subjective universe is

* Mr. J. S. Mill has criticised M. Comte severely for his rejection of consciousness as an instrument of philosophy. "He gives no place," says Mill, "in his series of the sciences to psychology, and always speaks of it with contempt. The study of mental phenomena, or, as he expresses it, of moral and intellectual functions, has a place in his scheme under the head of Biology, but only as a branch of physiology. Our knowledge of the human mind must, he thinks, be acquired by observing other people. How we are to observe other people's mental operations, or how interpret the signs of them without having learnt what the signs mean by knowledge of ourselves,

he does not state. But it is clear to him that we can learn very little about the feelings, and nothing at all about the intellect, by self-observation." (Mill's *Pos. Phil. of Comte*, p. 59.) Mr. G. H. Lewes in his *Review of Positivism* gives a more important position to psychology, but still it is *comparative* psychology, the result of comparing the functions of the human brain with those of brutes. How we could ever get a knowledge of any sensation or thought without consciousness, is to us inconceivable. All scientific knowledge, no matter of what kind it may be, is capable of being analysed into elements originally given in consciousness and consciousness alone.

recognized as governed by laws; that is, the laws of co-existence and succession of the phenomenal universe correspond to those of the subjective phenomena of the individual mind. In short the laws of subjective knowing and the laws of objective being are the same, because knowing and being are but different sides of the same indivisible absolute existence. This identification of knowing and being, of the subjective and the objective, leads necessarily to the complete supersession of positive science by philosophy, or rather indicates a method by which all the problems of positive science may be solved by philosophy. Knowing and being are one; the laws of knowing are the laws of being also; the laws of the individual mind which regulate the *form* or *order* of thought, are the laws of thought generally, that is, are the laws of that objective being which is the thought of God. Consequently, if we can arrive at a true science of the laws of thought, we have attained a science of the universe of things. Logic is thus the universal organon of science.

Berkeley, certainly, did not attempt to reduce his principles to such a systematic form, as we have here indicated; probably he never conceived the notion of making such an application of his principles. But we believe that if he had turned his mind to natural science and history, if he had endeavoured to systematize all knowledge and establish a method of investigation, he would probably have hit upon something similar to what long afterwards appeared in Germany. We say "something similar," because we think that neither Berkeley's mode of expression nor his psychological analysis could ever have enabled himself personally to reach that wonderful formulating of the laws of thought and being which was accomplished by Hegel. And we think, too, that the employment of the Hegelian organon can never be of much practical use, can never be more than a splendid theory, understood by few and employed by none. Still within the sphere of its influence it must have an injurious effect upon positive science, and, therefore, we wish to show wherein we think it transgresses its legitimate bounds.

Hegel's ontology, like every system of ontology, is founded upon a psychology,—the psychology of the finite subjective process of thought. And it assumes as a *sine quâ non* that the analysis of the subjective process of thought in the individual mind must give, as its result, the essential and necessary process of the world-idea. This assumption Berkeley would never have reached, in consequence of the element of freedom which he implicitly attributed both to the human and the divine will.* But granting that this

* "By a diligent observation of the discover the general laws of nature, phenomena within our view, we may and from them deduce the other

assumption is, within proper limits, the fundamental principle of all ontology, we may still doubt the ability of any so perfectly to formulate the finite subjective process of thought as to make it the basis of transcendental ontology. Astronomers would come to very imperfect conclusions regarding the magnitudes, motions, and distances of the fixed stars, or even the other bodies of the solar system, if they had no basis of calculation more extensive than that afforded by the daily revolution of the earth. So we fear that the analysis of the process of thought in the individual human mind can scarcely be so perfectly freed from the erroneous and the contingent as to make it a thoroughly reliable basis, whereon to construct a theory of the universe. Hegel and his followers profess that such an analysis does exist in the Hegelian philosophy, and if we could understand that analysis, or had any means of verifying it except its own inconceivable ideas, we might confess that the secret of the universe has been laid here. But before we make this confession, we must be assured in the first place that the finite mind is a full and perfect measure of the infinite, so that an accurate analysis of the subjective process of thought must necessarily constitute a complete analysis of the process of the absolute idea; and in the second place that such an analysis has been attained. But unless we are to believe mere assertions, we have no satisfactory assurance of either the one position or the other.

The denial of the first of these positions does not involve the destruction of ontology. We have already endeavoured to point out in this paper that the basis of all ontology as well as of all belief in the reality of external objects is to be found in that law of our nature by which we attribute the unity of subjective thought to objective things. God would never be found in the universe, unless the subjective reason put into objective phenomena the elements out of which it constructs the idea of God. But the mind observes in the objective phenomena a unity and harmony which are not of finite subjective origin, and we have no right to assert that there can be no principles involved in the world-harmony which are not found in the process of finite thought.

With reference to the actual analysis of thought which Hegel has made, it would be presumption to criticise it, particularly as we are not sure that we understand it. But it appears to us that there may be some doubt as to the ground from which the analysis begins. Is pure abstract Being that element of con-

phenomena; I do not say *demonstrate*, for all deductions of that kind depend on a supposition that the Author of nature always operates uniformly; and on a constant obser-

vance of those rules we take for principles which we cannot evidently know." (*Prin. of Human Knowledge*, sec. 107).

consciousness which is primary and which underlies all others? No consciousness can exist without activity; all sensations are the resultant, as it were, of the interaction of opposing forces, the ego on the one hand, and the variety of powers which we call the non-ego on the other. Thus, from an analysis of consciousness, we should be inclined to place as *the first* not abstract being, but some dynamical principle—call it volition, force, or by whatever other name it may be best indicated.

The chief use of ontology appears to us to be not the *a priori* explanation of the universe, but the furnishing of an ideal cause or hypothesis for the explanation of observed facts. And consequently we say that philosophy ought to be prevented from intruding within the domains of positive science. The proper method of studying the universe, whether physical, social or mental, is the careful observation of facts. The mind must, in the first place, supply hypothesis for the provisional explanation of the facts; and ultimately the careful and continued observation of the facts will serve to correct the hypothesis. So that the study of things may even be made useful as a psychological instrument for correcting the analysis of thoughts. The study of the laws of nature and the laws of history and society has already been instrumental in correcting numberless ontological errors in morals, metaphysics, and theology, but it is surely a grand mistake to suppose that positive science will ever be able to dispense with the aid of philosophy. As long as men are born into the world with the same nature which we possess, they must continue to attribute their own conscious personal reality to objective phenomena. And this attribution, with the different principles which it implies, constitutes the basis of all ontology.

We shall now endeavour to point out some erroneous modes of thought which Berkeleyanism, if fairly followed out to its consequences, must serve to correct. And first we shall refer to certain views upon theological subjects which have prevailed in the religious world for many centuries, and which still continue to prevail. The philosophical doctrine which lies at the basis of all mediæval theology is dualism—its essential tenet being the independent existence of matter and mind. According to this doctrine, matter and mind are different entities entirely distinct from one another—perfectly opposed in nature and mode of existence. Philosophical dualism has existed in the world in all ages; it is the natural result of that primitive act of abstraction to which we have referred, whereby the conscious-self objectifies its sense-given phenomena, and, by a natural process, thinks of them as constituting an independent thing.* To the practical man this natural process of

* "It is indeed an opinion strangely prevailing amongst men that

abstraction is invaluable; but to man as a thinker, it is most pernicious. And the history of philosophy and religion shows how difficult it is for men when they aspire to become thinkers to divest themselves of these ordinary modes of conception which result from the natural abstraction and association of practical life. Philosophical dualism, or the doctrine of the independent existence of matter and mind, has been held from the earliest times. It existed in Plato and Aristotle; it existed in mediæval times; it was retained by Descartes and through him came into modern philosophy. Berkeley was one of the first in modern times to point out the inconceivableness and impossibility of ontological dualism.

The theological application of this doctrine might almost be anticipated. If matter is one thing and mind another, each of them independent of the other, then, manifestly, God must have an existence entirely separate from and independent of the universe of matter, and in the same way matter must have an existence independent of God. The eternity, independence, and co-existence of God and matter, or good and evil, was, therefore, a prevailing doctrine of heathen antiquity, both Grecian and Oriental. In the Judaic cosmogony, however, this antithesis does not appear "in the beginning," for we are told that "God created the heavens and the earth." But it may be questioned whether the idea of the absolute origination of matter is consciously continued in the Jewish account of creation. However this may be, subsequent Jewish theology presents the most violent antithesis between God and his creation. Jehovah is represented as seated in the heavens with an out-stretched arm, ruling from without over the powers of nature, giving audible or visible directions to his chosen people, and following with dire vengeance the enemies of his heritage. Of course a great deal of this language is highly figurative, and must have been uttered by the Jewish leaders and prophets with the distinct consciousness that it is so. Such language must have been the natural way by which the Jewish people expressed their religious thoughts and feelings; probably they saw the figurative character of the

houses and mountains, rivers, and in a word, all sensible objects, have an existence, natural or real, distinct from their being perceived by the understanding.....If we thoroughly examine this tenet, it will, perhaps, be found at bottom to depend on the doctrine of *abstract ideas*. For can there be a nicer strain of abstraction than to distinguish the existence of sensible objects from their being perceived, so as to conceive them existing unperceived? Light and colours,

heat and cold, extension and figure—in a word, the things we see and feel—what are they but so many sensations, notions, ideas or impressions on the sense? And is it possible to separate, even in thought, any one of these from perception?..... In truth the object and the sensation are the same thing, and cannot, therefore, be abstracted from one another." (*Prin. of Human Knowledge*, secs. 4-5.)

expressions which they used; but these expressions must have been inherited from a time when they were really understood in their literal sense. At any rate, from the prevalence amongst the Jewish people of such descriptions of God as we have referred to, we are led to the conclusion that a most distinct form of dualism prevailed amongst them. They looked upon God as ruling his universe from without, as having his spiritual throne somewhere within the regions of space apart from material things, which latter had an existence also apart from Him.

This Jewish conception of God's existence and mode of government has played an important part in modern Christian theology. It has received a name in the word *personality*, which word is at the present moment by many sectaries made use of as one of the shibboleths of orthodoxy. The Jewish conception of personality, however, was combined with other elements in the early Christian theology. The wonderful individual to whom the Christian system owes its rise, spoke of himself truly as the Son of God, and he, in his human nature, was unquestionably a person. He promised to send the Comforter to his disciples after he had departed, and the language employed with reference to him led the Christians to ascribe personality to him also. The problem then arose how to reconcile this three-fold personality with monotheism. Every one who knows anything of the history of Christian theology, is aware of the innumerable controversies and struggles which took place in early times and which have continued to agitate Christendom for many centuries. The doctrine of the Trinity was the central point about which these controversies clustered, but many other questions were necessarily involved.

Now the particular conception which rendered these controversies possible was, we say, that which is usually expressed by the word *personality*. And we maintain that this conception was not philosophically accurate. The meaning of *person* in the ordinary language of practical life comprehends the whole complexity of mental and organic faculties which constitute a man or woman. And this conception of the word, divested of some material elements peculiarly human, was retained in its theological application. In other words, the higher and more spiritual faculties of man were magnified and attributed to God, and He was thus regarded as comprising that complexity of mental and moral powers which constitute a man's mind, only in an infinitely greater degree. This infinite Person was thought of as existing and acting outside of the laws of nature, as it were, in something the same way as each man is aware that he exists and acts upon that small portion of nature with which he comes into contact. The discussions of the early Christians regarding the nature of Christ, no doubt served to render still more distinct this

conception of God which regarded Him as a very great man. Christ was human, endowed with that complexity of human powers and faculties which constitute what we usually call a human person. Since Christ, therefore, was believed to be the Son of God, a Person like his Father, men were naturally confirmed by their religious discussions in regarding the Deity as resembling in all essential respects the mind of a human being, and as existing outside of his own universe, ruling it pretty much as a man directs the movements of some machine. Hence arose long discussions as to the manner in which God ruled his universe, comprising the much agitated questions as to the divine decrees, the introduction of sin, the covenant or bargain made between the Father and the Son regarding the human race, and a great many other subjects of a similar character.

With reference to the legitimacy of discussions of this kind, it must be defended either on the ground of revelation or of philosophy. If the contending parties refer to revelation, we reply that the scriptures are essentially practical in their character, and do not afford a ground for such an elaborate analysis of the divine nature and government as constitutes mediæval theology. If, on the other hand, they wish to defend their position on philosophical grounds, we maintain that they are equally destitute of any sanction for their contests. Philosophy does not recognize the legitimacy of that conception of the divine person which must be entertained in order to render the controversies in question possible. Philosophy does not take the side of the Athanasians against the Arians, or of the Calvinists against the Arminians, or *vice versa*; but she sweeps the ground from beneath the feet of both parties by destroying the false conception regarding the divine nature upon which they take their stand. Anthropomorphism, in some form or other, is at the foundation of all the doctrines regarding God's nature, and His relations to man which have taken their rise in the theology of the middle ages; and the great work of philosophy in the present day is to purify theology from the gross and incongruous elements of which it is so largely composed.

This function of philosophy must depend for its success upon an accurate psychology, and we have endeavoured to indicate briefly in this paper some of the results of a true psychological analysis. We have tried to point out, with the aid of Berkeley and other thinkers, the absurdity of regarding matter and mind as two independent entities existing by themselves; we have attempted to express what we mean by personality—a conscious-self in the midst of states and activities resulting from the relation of that self to various foreign powers, which may be collectively called the not-self. But this self is simply the unifying, harmonizing principle of these states and

activities ; and the existence of a self independent of its phenomena is inconceivable. And when we objectify this self and think of the person who gives unity and harmony to the universe of things, it is equally impossible for us to think of the universe as existing and running on its course apart from Him, or of Him existing and acting like some human mechanic, or governor, or judge, outside of the universe.

This result of the application of philosophy to theological problems, however, does not in any degree lessen the importance of the religious history of our race. The great utility of all religion is of a moral nature to free man from moral imperfection, to make him better fitted to perform the various duties of his existence. But as the universe itself has a unity, so the history of religion, if we thoroughly understand it, would present the same unity and harmony which characterize the whole of God's universe. That we are, in our present state of existence, capable of fully understanding it, we do not by any means maintain ; but every honest unprejudiced thinker must acknowledge the propriety of attempting to bring within the domain of law the religious as well as the social and physical facts of human history. If there are facts which cannot be accounted for upon rational principles, they must be referred to the transcendent character of the great problem which surpasses the ability of the finite mind to solve. But we must also believe that if we were acquainted with all the facts, and were in a position from which we could observe the hidden principles of things, we should be able to perceive a truly divine and harmonious law governing that wonderful complexity of physical, social, and religious facts which constitute the history of the universe.

ART. VI.—THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI.

- 1.—THE CHRONICLES OF THE PATHA'N KINGS OF DEHLI. *Illustrated by Coins, Inscriptions, and other Antiquarian Remains.* By EDWARD THOMAS, late of the East India Company's Service ; Member of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal, London, and Paris. Trübner and Co. London. 1871.
- 2.—A STUDENT'S MANUAL OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA *from the earliest period to the present.* By MEADOWS TAYLOR, C.S.I., M.R.A.S., M.R.I.A., &c. Longmans, Green, and Co. London. 1870.
- 3.—THE HISTORY OF INDIA. *The Hindu and Mahometan Periods.* By the Hon. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE. Fifth Edition, with notes and additions by E. B. COWELL, M.A., late Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Murray, London. 1866.
- 4.—THE HISTORY OF INDIA, AS TOLD BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS. *The Muhammadan Period.* Vols. I, II, III. By SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B. Edited by Professor JOHN DOWSON, M.R.A.S. Trübner and Co. London.

THE results of modern historical skill and acumen in utilising, for scientific purposes, evidence not strictly literary, have been more striking perhaps in the recovered and corrected history of India than in that of any other country. Coins, inscriptions, and antiquarian remains of every kind, have all contributed largely of late years to our knowledge of the early history of this country. Just forty years ago, M. Ventura, a French officer in the service of Ranjit Singh, discovered a number of coins, Greek, or partly Greek, in the now celebrated tope of Manikyala ; and since that time, these and similar discoveries, in the hands of Prinsep and Lassen and Thomas and numbers of other able numismatists, have revolutionised the history of some of the most remarkable dynasties that the world has ever seen. The orientalised Greeks of the Bactrian and Indo-Scythian kingdoms occupied what Lassen picturesquely terms a crossroad of historical formation. They were privileged, at their post so far advanced toward the east, "to open with the right hand the Vedas of the Brahmans and the Nosk of the Mazdajanes ; with the left to shake the locks which closed the gates of the great Chinese wall and the entrance into the empire of the Central Land." In their territories met the worshippers of Brahma and those of the Zoroastrian sun-god ; the believers in the Vedas and the Zendavesta and the Tripitaka ; the apostles of Buddhist quietism, and the artists who opposed the plastic forms of the Hellenic

gods to the grotesque symbols of the East.* All that was formerly known of the history of these most interesting and remarkable dynasties, had been derived from the meagre accounts of the Western Greeks. Now, a flood of light has been thrown on this obscure corner by the labours of the numismatists; and we have chronicles which, though naturally mainly consisting of bare facts—the accession or the death of kings, the acquisition or the loss of territory, the increase or decrease of skill in minting, the use or disuse of symbols or legends on coins—may doubtless ultimately be developed into real and scientific history.

Turning to the light thrown on Indian history by the investigation of inscriptions, we observe that our knowledge of the Buddhist period has been mainly evolved during the last half-century, and chiefly from this source. The Buddhist period has suffered, more than any other, from the national distaste for historical studies; for in this case, the usual distaste of the learned classes amongst the natives of the country has been increased by an intolerant religious prejudice which has forbidden any glorification of the triumphs of a hostile creed. It is true that here, other sources of information recently explored, have largely added to our previous knowledge—notably the translations of the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims, and the investigations into the Buddhist literature of Ceylon, Nipál, Siam, and China; but none have been more fertile than the marvellous palæographic discoveries of Prinsep and his disciples.

Much of the industry that has been exhibited in following these bye-paths of historical science in the elucidation of Indian subjects, is doubtless owing, partly, to the fact of the lamentable dearth of literary remains and the singular lack of indigenous historical taste; and partly to the great wealth of the country in the unexplored materials for these researches. The former stimulus, it is true, becomes less active for the period subsequent to the advent of the Muhammadans; for with these conquerors came in the Arabic and Persian learning and love of history; but the second motive, especially with regard to coins, becomes more than proportionately effective. Mr. Thomas has made this period, and this subject, peculiarly his own; well known as an energetic and successful collector of coins, he is absolutely unrivalled as an exponent of their teaching. He is singularly skilled in the semi-mechanical art of palæographic deciphering; but he

* See Lassen's Bactrian coins, edited by Prinsep, p. 4. The writer of the present paper has before him a *catalogue raisonné* of the valuable collections of coins of the Bactrian and other Græco-Asiatic dynasties,

made by Lieut.-Col. Bush, late of the Bengal Army, during a residence of many years in the Panjáb. This catalogue is in effect an epitome of the history of these most interesting kingdoms.

also possesses, what is far more important, extraordinary critical acumen, and an elegant historical taste which enables him to make the best possible use of his mechanical skill, for the advancement of his favourite science.

Mr. Thomas displayed at an early period his admirable qualifications for the successful application of numismatics to the elucidation of obscure points of history ; though his earlier achievements in this line were of a more technical nature than the admirable work which forms the subject of the present article. As far back as 1847 was published the "Monograph on the coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán"; which immediately placed its author in the front rank of oriental numismatists. Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, and Professor Wilson in many parts of his *Ariana Antiqua*, had already opened this road. Mr. Thomas in his *Monograph* brought the subject up to the date of publication ; and added a further contribution in 1851, in the shape of a valuable supplement to the *Monograph*, which appeared at Dehli, and was mainly based on an analysis of Mr. E. C. Bayley's extensive collection of oriental coins. A later cognate memoir on *The initial Coinage of Bengal*, was mainly devoted to a description of selections from the 13,000 coins of the celebrated Kúch Bahár *trouvaille*, for the knowledge of which the learned world is indebted to Colonel J. C. Haughton. All these works are revised in the *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings* ; and with them all the results of the most modern discoveries and researches are embodied, and presented to the public in a most interesting and readable form. Mr. Thomas, however, very wisely does not confine himself herein to numismatic illustration. In his preface he says :—

"In the present work I have asserted my freedom from conventional trammels, and endeavoured to make numismatics applicable in their larger and better sense to the many collateral questions they chance to touch ; equally pressing into the service all available external aids to history, for which the laxity of oriental tradition gives even too many openings."

Hence we find here a full and critical account of most of the known inscriptions that throw any light upon the period treated of. Most of these are of very great interest ; and some are here published for the first time.

The period illustrated in this volume extends from A.D. 1192 to A.D. 1554, or a period of somewhat more than three centuries and a half ; during which interval six dynasties, numbering in all forty kings, succeeded in turn to the throne of Dehli. The jurisdiction of this sceptre, as Mr. Thomas well points out, varied in extent under almost each succeeding monarch. It sometimes stretched from the extreme limits of Eastern Bengal on the east,

to Kábul and Kandahár on the west, with Sind and the Southern Peninsula to complete the circle ; it was occasionally reduced to a few districts around the capital, and in one instance confined to the single spot enclosed within the walls of the metropolis itself. It is somewhat fortunate that, almost simultaneously with the appearance of Mr. Thomas's consolidation of what we have termed the non-literary evidences for the history of this period, the native literary evidences for a considerable portion of the same period have been made available to the public. Sir Henry Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, with the large and valuable additions of the editor, have just been completed by Professor Dowson to the time of the inroad of Timúr in A.D. 1398. Mr. Thomas, who has fortunately had access to all the three volumes of this work which have yet appeared—Professor Dowson in his preface acknowledges his obligation to him for much valuable assistance—makes admirable use of them in his historical *résumés* of the various reigns ; and the result is that we now have before us an excellent summary of all that the utmost efforts of science and literary research have been able to effect in the elucidation of the early part of the Muhammadan History of India.

Mr. Thomas, adopting his old nomenclature, has called this the period of the *Pathán* kings—apparently somewhat on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle. "It may seem one of the strangest caprices of fortune," says Mr. Erskine in his *Memoirs of Báber*, "that the empire which Báber founded in India should have been called, both in the country and by foreigners, the Empire of the Moghuls ; thus taking its name from a race which he detested." It may seem scarcely less strange that the series of thirty-four kings who reigned in Dehli, from the time of Muhammad Ghori to the establishment of the so-called Mughal empire, should have obtained from scholars and historians the appellation of *Pathán* ; for not more than four, or at most five, of the whole number were Afgháns in blood. Bábar, it is true, was himself a Turk ; but his mother was a Mughal princess ; and so probably was one of his earlier female ancestors, for Timúr claimed a collateral descent from the stock of Changiz Khán. Moreover Elphinstone justifies the name Mughal as applied to the descendants of Timúr, by the fact that the Indians call all northern Musalmans, except the Afgháns, Mughals. But this very justification of *Mughal*, stultifies the application of the name *Pathán* to the pre-Mughal kings of Dehli. Muhammad Ghori may have been a *Pathán*, though this is a point about which we have no certain information. His successors, down to the advent of the Khiljís, were Turki slaves or their posterity. The Khiljís were also Turks, though they had been long settled amongst the Afgháns between Seistan and India. This fact is pointed out by Elphinstone, who quotes De Guignes, D'Herbelot, and Ibn Haukal ; and

affirms that they still spoke Turki in the tenth century. Násir-ud-dín Khusrau was a Hindu convert, originally a man of the lowest caste. The founder of the Tughlak dynasty, Ghiás-ud-dín, or Gházi beg Tughlak, was by birth a Karauniah Turk;* and Ferishta even mentions a tradition that his mother was a Jatni of the Panjáb. Khizr Khán was a Sayyid, born in India. Of all the so-called Patháns, the family of Lodi alone has any ascertained right to the title.

Mr. Thomas, in his introductory sketch, clearly points out in how many various ways the history of Muhammadan nations is especially open to illustration and rectification from numismatic sources. All mintages imitating the early Kufic models of the Khalifs are more or less deficient in artistic effect or variety of device. This is a sad defect in the eyes of the artist or the mere numismatist; but to the student of history it is infinitely more than compensated by the fact that the surfaces of the coins are entirely devoted to legends which "among other occasionally-significant indications, record at length the style and titles of the monarch, the date of coinage, and the name of the mint: thus affording direct evidence to three distinct facts—the existence of the sovereign as such, the epoch at which he reigned, and the country over which he was king. The unspeakable value of such an engine of historical criticism for the reigns of the early Muhammadan kings of Dehli—whose succession was often very rapid, whose names were frequently numerous for one and the same person, whose frontiers were continually shifting—must be obvious at a glance; and further reasons are adduced by Mr. Thomas, whose words we must here quote:—

"The value of this species of illustration, as applied to the mediæval Indian annals now under review, is greatly enhanced by the exaggerated importance attached by the Muslims themselves to that department of the conventional regal functions, involved in the right to coin. Among these people, the recitation of the public prayer in the name of the aspirant to the throne, associated with the issue of money bearing his superscription, was unhesitatingly received as the overt act of succession. Unquestionably, in the state of civilization here obtaining,

* Mr. Thomas quotes, in explanation of this statement, Ibn Batutah, iii. p. 201:—"Turcs connus sous le nom Karaounah, et qui habitent dans les montagnes situées entre le Sind et le pays des Turcs." See also Lee's Ibn Batutah, p. 125. Marco Polo's account of this tribe is that their Tátár sires followed Nagodar, the nephew of Zagatai, and settled in those parts; "these, being men of

a light complexion, mixing with the dark Indian women, produced the race to whom the appellation of Karaunas is given, signifying in the language of the country, a mixed breed." This may account for the traditions mentioned above about the mother of Ghiás-ud-dín. Mr. Thomas refers this tradition to the *Khulásat al Tawárikh*, which is, we believe, a work of no authority whatever.

the production and facile dispersion of a new royal device was singularly well adapted to make manifest to the comprehension of all classes, the immediate change in the supreme ruling power. In places where men did not print, these stamped moneys obtruding into every bazar, constituted the most effective manifestoes and proclamations human ingenuity could have devised; readily multiplied, they were individually the easiest and most naturally transported of all official documents; the veriest *Fakir* in his semi-nude costume, might carry the ostensible proof of a new dynasty into regions where even the name of the kingdom itself was unknown. In short, there was but little limit to the range of these eastern Heralds; the numismatic Garter King-at-arms was recognized wherever Asiatic nations accepted the gold, and interpreters could be found to designate the Cæsar whose "epigraph" figured on its surface. So also on the occasion of new conquests, the reigning Sultán's titles were ostentatiously paraded on the local money, ordinarily in the language and alphabet of the indigenous races, to secure the more effective announcement of the fact that they themselves had passed under the sway of an alien Suzerain. Equally, on the other hand, does any modification of, or departure from, the rule of a comprehensive issue of coin imply an imperfection, relative or positive, in the acquisition of supreme power. There are but few instances of abstention from the exercise of this highly-prized prerogative in the present series, but in all such cases the guiding motives are sufficiently ascertained."

We see that as the authority of the Dehli kings extended further and further from the capital, the number of imperial mint-cities increases. On the reduction of any principality, coins were usually immediately struck in its chief city in the name of the conqueror; and these acted as a sort of numismatic *Fateh Námah*, or "announcement of victory." On the other hand, as the imperial authority became more contracted, the successful pretenders in various parts would set up a local mint of their own, whence they would issue coins bearing their superscription and newly-won titles. We shall indicate these and similar historical illustrations noticed by Mr. Thomas, in a brief sketch of the history of the period as set forth by our author. It will, we think, be seen that his numismatic labours have well performed the functions which he has himself assigned to them—the suggestive development of obscure tradition, and the enlargement and critical revision of accepted history.

The early Muhammadan period in India may fairly be divided into five epochs. The first was an age of invasions which were generally (with the exception of the early occupation of Sind) little more than predatory incursions; with this epoch we have no concern in this place. The second begins with the real establishment of the Musalmán power in Hindústán under Muhammad Ghori; and includes the reigns of his immediate successors,

commonly called by native historians the dynasty of the Slaves of the Sultáns of Ghor. This period extends from A.D. 1193 to A.D. 1290; and includes the long and important reigns of Altamsh and Balban. The third epoch is that of the short rule of the Khiljí dynasty, from 1290 to 1320; of which the most important reign is that of 'Alá-ud-dín. The fourth comprises the period of the Tughlaks, to the death of Mahmúd Sháh in 1412; wherein we have two long and important reigns in succession, those of Muhammad bin Tughlak and of Fírúz Sháh. The fifth is the period of the Sayyids, from 1414 to 1451, and the rule of the house of Lódi to the establishment of the Mughals in 1526.

First King, A.D. 1193—1205.—Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sâm, more commonly known by his early name of Shaháb-ud-dín, and often called simply Muhammad Ghori, was the true founder of the Muhammadan Empire in India. On the accession of his brother, Ghiás-ud-dín, to the throne of Ghor, Mu'izz-ud-dín was associated with him in the sovereignty, and commanded the Ghorian armies. He subdued portions of Khorásán; and after the conquest of Ghazni in 1173, he was nominated to the government of that country, including its Indian provinces. Two years later he conquered Multán; but in 1176 he was defeated in an expedition against the prince of Nahrwála. He next attacked Khusrau Malik, the last of the Ghaznavis, and captured him by stratagem in 1184. In 1191, he marched into the heart of Hindústán, and sustained a crushing defeat from the Chohán leader, Prithví Rájá of Ajmír, at Thaneswar. In the following year he marched against the same enemy, though the latter was now aided by a powerful confederation of the Rájput princes; and in 1193, on the same battle-field of Thaneswar, he utterly defeated the confederates, and firmly established the Muhammadan power. His conquests were completed by Kutb-ud-dín Aibek, formerly his slave, whom he now appointed viceroy. In 1202, he succeeded his more peaceable brother Ghiás-ud-dín; and in 1205, he was assassinated in his own camp by a band of Gakk'hars, a wild hill-tribe in the Panjáb.

The numismatic illustrations of this reign are most interesting. The Indian coinages of Muhammad Ghori were avowedly adaptive, being based on the local coinages. Mr. Thomas says:—"One of these assimilated issues of unusual historical interest consists of the gold money put forth, in close mechanical identity of metal, symbols, and style of writing, in the name of the Muslim conqueror, immediately on the fall of Jai Chand, the last of the Rahtors of Kanauj, in 1194." In the same way we get coins, accompanying the progress of the invader, struck at Ghor, at Ghazni, at Pashá-

war, at Láhor, at Sind (Uchh ?), at Dehli, at Gwalior, and finally at Kanauj. The early Ghazni coins testify to the joint sovereignty of the two brothers, and the subordination of Mu'izz-ud-dín; for on one side the epithet "mighty king" is applied to the latter and on the other side Ghiás-ud-dín is called "*most mighty sovereign*." The appearance of the joint names of Muhammad bin Sâm and of Prithví Rájá on one and the same coin is somewhat startling; but it illustrates a statement of one of Elliot's Historians, to the effect that a "son of Rai Pitaura who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime court," was left in charge of Ajmír, where he would naturally strike coin in the joint-names of himself and his Suzerain.

Mahmúd, prince of Bust, was the nephew and hereditary successor of Muhammad Ghori; but beyond the fact of his conferring the emblems of regal dignity on the imperial viceroys at the death of Muhammad, he has no further connexion with Indian history.

Second King, A.D. 1206-1210.—Kutb-ud-dín Aibek, mentioned above, succeeded as king of Dehli. Three other slaves and lieutenants of Muhammad Ghori succeeded to other parts of his dominions; viz., Taj-ud-dín Ilduz at Ghazni, Násir-ud-dín Kubáchah in Multán and Sind, and Muhammad Bakhtiár Khiljí in Bahár and Bengal. Kutb-ud-dín had already consolidated his kingdom whilst acting as viceroy for Muhammad Ghori at Dehli and Láhor. No important events happened after his actual accession, except a successful campaign against Ilduz. In this campaign he took Ghazni, but almost immediately evacuated it.

No coins of this monarch have been found. Mr. Thomas believes that he abstained from coining, partly out of respect for the memory of his master and predecessor, partly from carelessness about the mere outward forms of royalty. The numismatic illustrations of the reign of Ilduz at Ghazni are very full, and exhibit him in every phase of his power, from the submissive lieutenant at Karmán, to the "Great Sultán, Sultán of the East" of later times at Ghazni; but even he retained the style of his master, the "*Martyred Sultán*", long after the assassination of the latter.

Third King, A.D. 1210.—Arám succeeded his father Aibek; but within a year was deposed by Altamsh, formerly a slave, and now a son-in-law of the late king. Arám's coins are only remarkable for their great rarity.

Fourth King, A.D. 1210-1235.—Shams-ud-dín Altamsh was the greatest of the Slave Kings. Ilduz, king of Ghazni, was driven into Hindústán by the king of Khwarizm; and was captured and thrown into prison by Altamsh. Not long after, the king of Khwarizm, himself overpowered by the Mughal hordes under Changiz Khan, endeavoured to establish himself in Hindústán, but was forced to take refuge in Sind. Subse-

quently Kubâchah, king of Sind, was defeated by Altamsh; he drowned himself at Bhakar, and Altamsh annexed his dominions. The victorious Sultân forcibly asserted his supremacy over the Khilji chiefs in Bahâr and Bengal; and occupied the rest of his reign in subduing those portions of the country (Rantambhor, Gwâlior, Bhilsa, Ujain, &c.) which had remained independent, or, having been conquered, had revolted. Before his death, he was lord of all Hindûstân, with the exception of some few insulated portions.

The coinages of Altamsh illustrate the fact of his recognition by the Khalif of Baghdâd—an important event in the history of a Muhammadan kingdom. Taken in connexion with some contemporaneous coins of Chahâr Deva, his great native opponent in Narwâr, they illustrate the relations between the conquering and conquered races, by showing—*first*, the independent position of Chahâr Deva as *Mahârâjâ Adhirâj*, and his struggles against the spoilers of his country; *secondly*, his ultimate concession of supremacy to Altamsh; and *thirdly*, the establishment of the generals of Altamsh in Ajmîr.

Fifth King, A.D. 1235-1236.—Rukn-ud-dîn Fîrûz Shâh succeeded his father; his reign of six months was disgraced by his debaucheries. There were several coalitions of nobles, organised to defeat the intrigues of the Queen-mother. Rukn-ud-dîn was deposed by his sister, who had originally been nominated to the empire by Altamsh.

Sixth reign, A.D. 1236-1239.—Raziah, called on her coronation *Sultân** (in the masculine gender) justified her father's choice by the display of very considerable ability in establishing her power, notwithstanding the opposition of the Wazir and many of the provincial governors. The drawback of her sex, however, presented itself at the height of her prosperity. She displayed a scandalous partiality for an Abyssinian slave in the court, which gave extreme offence to the Turkî nobles. Altûniâh, the governor of Sirhind, rebelled; the Abyssinian was killed in the battle that followed, and Raziah was transferred to the *zanana* of the conqueror. Altûniâh now advanced on Delhi, but was defeated and put to death, together with the Empress.

Mr. Thomas well remarks that the sovereignty of a female was not altogether at variance with the ideas of the semi-nomad race (the Turki), to which Raziah belonged, however anomalous it may seem generally in a Muhammadan State. He instances Tomyris, and two powerful princesses of Kharizm, named Malika Turkân and Turkan

* Sir H. Elliot (vol. II., p. 332) draws attention to the fact that Elphinstone and others have made a somewhat amusing mistake in calling this lady *Sultâna*, instead of *Sultân* or *Pâdshâh*, in her capacity of Queen-Regnant. *Sultâna* is not complimentary, for it signifies a *scold*.

Khatun; he adds "Raziah's direct rise dated from the capture of the Queen-mother, so that in effect the transfer of dominion was from one female to another."

Seventh King, A.D. 1239-1241.—The reign of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Bahram Shāh, brother of Raziah, again proved the correctness of Altamsh's estimate of the characters of his own sons. He was a violent man, and showed so much severity in putting down two conspiracies, that the army (which had been sent to repress an inroad of the Mughals, who had captured Lahor) revolted. Under the command of the Wazir, the troops marched back to Dehli, captured the city and murdered the Sultān.

Eighth King, A.D. 1241-1246.—The reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Mas'ūd, son of Rukn-ud-dīn Fīrūz, and grandson of Altamsh, is chiefly remarkable for an invasion of Sind by the Mughals; who, however, withdrew without fighting. The Sultān, at first apparently a youth of amiable character, appears to have contracted licentious habits at the time of this campaign. Great disorders at length arose; the nobles invited Nasir-ud-dīn Mahmūd to assume the tiara, and the Sultān was thrown into prison where he died.

Mr. Thomas shows, by a careful consideration of the original text of Minhāj-us-Sirāj, the great authority for this period, that the reported invasion of Bengal by the troops of Changiz Khān at this time, is a pure myth. The mistake arose from a mistranscription—the troops referred to being really those of the Rājā of Jājnagar in Tipperah. Ferishtah fell into the error, which has consequently been adopted by Elphinstone, Meadows Taylor, and many other writers. The date of the supposed invasion was A.H. 642 or A.D. 1245; which is also the date of the abortive attack of the Mughals on Uchh in Sind. Minhāj-us-Sirāj was at this time on a visit to the court of Lakhnauti, and describes the appearance of the Jājnagar troops before that city, and their retirement on the approach of reinforcements under Tamar Khān.

Minhāj-us-Sirāj is one of the best of the early Muhammadan historians; and both Mr. Thomas and Sir H. Elliot lament his loss as a guide for the period after the accession of Balban. Mr. Thomas describes him as "an eye-witness to many of the facts he relates, a participator in many of the events he chronicles, and a candid and conscientious narrator. His place is ill-supplied by Zīā-ud-dīn Barni, the author of a *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*—another work of the same name being written by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Aff. Zīā-ud-dīn is described as "a writer of little merit, wanting in arrangement, time-serving in his representation of incidents; and as regards this particular period (the reign of Balban) a mere hearsay compiler of crude tradition nearly a century after date."

Ninth King, A.D. 1246-1265.—From Minhāj-us-Sirāj's great work the *Tabakat-i-Nāsiri* we get an account in full detail of the

events of the reign of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, who succeeded his nephew Ma'sáúd. He was the second son of Altamsh of that name; his elder brother of the same name having died whilst governing Bahár and Bengal. He appears to have led a virtuous and secluded life. Devoted to the occupation of transcribing the Kurán, he resigned the affairs of State to his Vazir, Ulugh Khán, better known by his imperial title of Ghiás-ud-dín Balban. The formidable Hindú Rájá, Chahár Deva, mentioned above, was subjugated in this reign; his fort of Narwar was taken, and many other minor Hindú States were reduced to submission. The Mughals, who had entered Multán, were successfully opposed. A quarrel occurred at one time between the Sultán and his faithful Wazir Balban; the latter was ordered to retire to his private estates, but was soon restored to power by his master who could do nothing without him.

An interesting inscription of Násir-ud-dín on the Minaret at Allygurh, is quoted by Mr. Thomas, who states his reasons for believing that the writing is actually a *fac-simile* of the writing of the Sultán. He subjoins a note on the destruction of this venerable relic of antiquity, with the sentiments of which our readers will heartily sympathise. Vandalism deserves at all times to be gibbeted; we quote Mr. Thomas's words, *pour encourager les autres*:—"It is with much regret that I learn that this ancient monument has been wantonly destroyed. With a feeling akin to shame, I have to add that this was the deliberate act of my fellow-countrymen, the English officials in charge of the district in 1861."

Mr. Thomas does not appear to have noticed the fact that, in giving the correct parentage of this monarch, he has corrected almost all former English writers. Minháj-us-Siráj, whose testimony on such a point must be accepted as conclusive, distinctly states (*vide* Sir H. Elliot, vol. II, p. 345) that "this prince, son of Sultán Sa'id Shams-ud-dunya-wa-ud-dín (Altamsh) was born after the death of his eldest brother, whose name and titles were conferred upon him by his father." This eldest brother was, of course, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, who was Governor of Bengal from A.H. 624 to A.H. 627; a coin of his is figured by Mr. Thomas as No. 60. Elphinstone, misled doubtless by the identity of name, says that the Sultán was the grandson of Altamsh; and Professor Cowell, his editor, makes the mistake more apparent by stating that he was the son of this Governor of Bengal. A very recent compiler* boldly affirms that Násir-ud-dín was the son of Bahrám—evidently a short way of getting over the difficulty of pedigree involved in Elphinstone's statements.

Tenth King, A.D. 1265-1287.—Mahmúd dying without heirs, the powerful Wazir Ghiás-ud-dín Balban (a son-in-law of

* The Analytical History of India. By R. Sewell, 1870.

the great Altamsh) peaceably took possession of the throne. The first use he made of his power was to endeavour to destroy the influence of the *Túrki* nobles (of whom he had himself been one); who, to the number of forty, formerly slaves of Altamsh, had formed a sort of military oligarchy for mutual protection and aggrandisement. The king now did his best to cut off all these, his former associates, including many of his near relations. He instituted many severe and tyrannical laws. Further to secure his position, he organized a searching and all-pervading system of espionage; and having brought his army to a high state of efficiency, seems, under the same inspiration, to have determined not to venture far away from his capital. He put down with a strong hand the outrages of the *Méwátis*, who had been carrying on their plundering even in the streets of Dehli. His unsparing rigour secured the peace of his dominions throughout his long reign; the only important disturbance being a serious revolt of Tughral, the Governor of Bengal, who assumed the style and titles of an independent king, and succeeded in defeating two several armies sent to subdue him. At length the Sultán marched against him in person; and one of his commanders, coming upon the forces of the rebels somewhat unexpectedly, in a dashing spirit of chivalry, though at the head of only forty troopers, entered their camp at headlong speed, and struck panic into his adversaries by his very rashness. In the precipitate flight which ensued, Tughral was captured and slain; and Bengal was confided to the care of Bughrá Khán, the second son of the Sultán.

Balban at length died at the age of eighty, of a broken heart, caused by the loss of the heir-apparent, Muhammad, the Governor of Multán, who fell bravely fighting against the Mughals. Owing to the disorganisation of the neighbouring kingdoms by the inroads of these fierce invaders, Balban's court gave refuge to an immense gathering of illustrious exiles, including no less than fifteen sovereign princes. Amongst these exiles were many celebrated literary men, of whom Amír Khusrau, the Persian poet, was the most famous.

The numismatic illustrations of this period are not very diversified; for "the long repose of Mahmúd's reign had allowed the mint arrangements to settle themselves into a fixed system, and the public money accordingly assumed a more permanent form, unenlivened by commemorative medals or new adaptations of local currencies. Balban's rule is, however, identified with the first appearance of a gold coinage following the ordinary silver models already in circulation." Moreover, we notice an interesting reference to the slaughter of the last of the Abbasside Khalifs, Mustasim, by the Mughal conqueror of Bagdad, Hulákú Khán—the same monarch who had sent an embassy to the court of

Mahmúd in A.H. 658; for Balban omits the words *fi' ahd* "in the time of," "under the auspices of," hitherto prefixed to the name of the Khalif on the medals of his predecessors.

A very important inscription of this period was engraved at Pálam, in the Dehli territory, under the auspices of "Utar, the son of Haripál." It preserved the local nomenclature of the several kings of this Muhammadan dynasty down to the time of Balban; and it was very curious from the casual application of Indian titles of honour, ending with the *Amír* assigned to the reigning Sultán. Like the inscription last noticed, this has also disappeared of late years; its loss is ascribed by General Cunningham to the period of the Mutiny. In this record, Muhammad Ghorí is called by his earlier title, Shaháb-ud-din. Then follows Kutb-ud-din with the title of *Bhúpaláh*. Arám's name is omitted altogether. Then comes Sams-ud-dín; then Pheroz Sháh with the title of Bahhúva Bhúmipati. Raziah is called Jalál-ud-dín; then follow in succession Maujadín with the title *Nripah*, Aláudín with the title *Nripati*, Násir-ud-dín with the title Prithvídra, and the reigning monarch Gyásud-dín with the title *Srí Hammíra*.

Eleventh King, A.D. 1287-1290.—Mu'izz-ud-dín Kaikubád, the son of Bughrá Khán of Bengal, was elevated to the throne on the death of his grandfather. Balban had implored Bughrá Khán himself to come to Dehli to be nominated as the successor; but on his refusal to leave Bengal, the old king had nominated Kai Khusrau (the son of the deceased heir, Muhammad) as his heir. On the death of Balban, the party in power at Dehli procured the accession of Kaikubád, to avoid the horrors of a civil war between Bughrá Khan and Kai Khusrau; and the two latter seem to have acquiesced in this settlement, Bughrá Khán governing in Bengal, and Kai Khusrau at Lahore.

The young king soon gave way to dissipation, and fell under the guidance of an ambitious minister named Názim-ud-dín, who hoped to secure the throne for himself. He at first intrigued with Kai Khusrau; but soon procured the assassination of the latter as a dangerous rival. He next attacked the Nau Muslim (converted) Mughals, who at this time formed an important element in the body politic at Dehli; and got them put to death, one after another. He next endeavoured to sow distrust between the king and his father; and actually induced the former to lead an army towards Bengal. When the armies met, the natural affection between the father and son caused a reconciliation, and frustrated the designs of the ambitious Vazír; and the latter was shortly afterwards poisoned. Jalál-ud-dín Khiljí, Governor of Sámána, became Wazír, and succeeded to all the old influence of Názim-ud-dín. He employed his power, however, more effectually; for he got possession of the person of the young heir-apparent, and

then caused the assassination of the king, who had already become paralysed.

The coins of this reign have merely a technical numismatic interest; and its conclusion brings the history to the commencement of the third epoch, that of the Khiljí dynasty.

Twelfth King, A.D. 1290-1295.—Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, the head of the Khiljí tribe (whose origin we have described above, at p. 148) was the chief of the old Ghaznavi or Ghorian party; whose principal rivals were the Turkí adherents of the family of Balban. The latter party had rallied around the young prince son of Kaikubád, whom they had endeavoured to make king under the title of Shams-ud-dín. Jalál-ud-dín frustrated their attempts by seizing this youth, who was made away with after about three months; and subsequently, in the second year of his reign, he totally routed a formidable levy of this party, and captured Malik Chajú, the nephew of Balban and the chief of the faction. He displayed extraordinary clemency in his treatment of the defeated rebels; and throughout the rest of his reign, the mildness of his administration was so extreme, that even robbers and other evil-doers escaped their just punishment, and many disorders appear to have arisen in consequence. The single exception to this feeble lenity was an unfortunate one; for a *Darvesh* named Sidi Maulá, of high repute for sanctity, was put to death in the royal presence, because some conspirators had plotted to put him on the throne; and his dying curse had a strong effect on the superstitious minds of the people. A dreadful whirlwind happened to arise just after the execution; the following year was one of famine; and these misfortunes, together with the miserable end of the king and the exclusion of his family from the throne, were all ascribed to the retributive action of the Sidi's curse.

With the exception of an expedition of the Sultán to Rantambhor in 689 A.H., and of an inroad of the Mughals in 691 A.H.,—checked by Jalál-ud-dín, and the prisoners treated with his usual forbearance—the chief interest of this reign centres in the campaigns of 'Alá-ud-dín, the king's ferocious nephew and successor. He successfully invaded the Dak'hin; marching from his government of Oudh, he passed through Elichpúr and attacked Deogiri (now Daulatabád) the capital of Ramdeo, king of Maháráshtra. The Rájá was compelled to submit, to cede Elichpúr, and to pay an enormous tribute; and 'Alá-ud-din then returned to Malwah. He now marched towards Dehli; pretending friendship, he induced the king to come out and meet him with a small retinue; and the poor old man was assassinated at the moment of clasping the hands of his treacherous nephew.

Thirteenth King, A.D. 1295.—Rukn-ud-dín Ibráhim, a younger son of Jalál-ud-dín, and an infant, was hastily set up by the Queen-

mother on the assassination of his father; the elder son, Arkali Khán, being absent in his governorship of Multán. The boy-Sultán had to flee, on the approach of 'Alá-ud-dín, to the protection of his brother at Multán, and his reign is historically merely a nominal one. Mr. Thomas acutely remarks on his coinage :—

“The modification in the general tenor of the legends of this piece seems to mark the confessed insecurity of rule of the new king; the insertion of the name and titles of the late Sultán at full length looks like an appeal to the allegiance of the adherents of the father's throne, an apostrophe in favour of the direct line against the threatened claims of the too powerful nephew. The usual record of the name and title of the long-since defunct Al Musta'sim [the Khalif] is replaced by the attribution to the deceased Firúz Sháh of the ancient, but latterly disused designation of *Násir Amir al Múminín*.”—p. 155.

Fourteenth King, A.D. 1295-1315.—The ferocious 'Alá-ud-dín, secure in the command of a veteran army and of the immense treasures which he had brought from the Dak'hin, assumed the insignia of royalty in his camp immediately after the murder of Jalál-ud-dín. He distributed enormous largesses to the nobles and populace of Dehli; and having, by an artifice, obtained possession of the persons of the Queen Dowager and her two sons, he cruelly put them to death in cold blood. The political events of this long reign were of the ordinary character—insurrections generally put down with sanguinary severity; invasions of Mughals; and the successes of a victorious general, Malik Náib Káfúr.

The final conquest of Gujrát was effected in A.D. 1297. Some of the troops returning from this campaign, mutinied; their wives and children were massacred by the king, and ultimately the rebels themselves were captured and slain. In 1299, an attempt was made on the king's life by his nephew, Prince Soliman, whilst on a hunting expedition. The prince, believing that his uncle was dead, hurried to the camp and proclaimed himself king; but 'Alá-ud-dín recovered from his wounds, and presented himself to the army by whom he was received with joy. Soliman was executed for his treason; and a similar fate subsequently befell two other rebellious nephews. Another even more serious revolt happened, whilst the Sultán was engaged in the siege of Rantambhor; a turbulent man named Háji Maulá succeeded in getting possession of the royal palace at Dehli, and absolutely elevated a puppet king, in the shape of a descendant of Ali, who, however, only enjoyed the doubtful dignity for a few days, for which he paid the forfeit of his head.

As the leading object of the Mughals in their expeditions was usually merely plunder, it was seldom that they left any record of their raids over the devoted lands beyond the devastation which

marked their track. In the case of Kwájah Kutlugh, however, who pushed his forces up to the walls of Dehli, in A. H. 697-8, to be defeated at last by 'Alá-ud-dín, the horde over which he ruled seems to have contemplated a more permanent occupancy of southern soil, and to have established temporary head-quarters at Ghazni. These facts are deduced from the remains of the Mughal currency of the period ; for both at Ghazni and in less permanent camps, they put forth coins, some of which bear Mughal characters, with a coarse type of Devanágari letters on the margin.

In A.D. 1300 'Alá-ud-dín conquered the strong fort of Rantambhor ; and the still more celebrated one of Chitor some three years later. About this period the Mughals ceased their incursions for a long time ; and the Emperor now turned his attention to the south of India. An expedition was sent into the Dak'hin under Náib Káfúr, who brought the Rájá of Deogiri a captive to Dehli. A celebrated and romantic episode of this campaign is well told by Mr. Thomas :—

"At a time when the rude Turks had given place to the more assimilative Khiljís, who were slowly domesticating themselves in their new home, and in their borderraid into the depths of the South imperceptibly becoming Indianized, discovering in their progress that there existed a very archaic local nobility whose chivalry they might well admire, they were led to seek for alliances with the daughters of these ancient houses. In the present instance, a damsel of gentle blood and great repute for beauty, the daughter of the Rájá of Guzerát, named Dewál Déví, on whose behalf armies had already been set in motion, was captured by hazard with all her escort, and conveyed to Dehli, where her own mother Kamalá Déví, by a similar chance, was found established as the favourite wife in the Imperial palace. In such proximity no wonder that the young heir-apparent [Khizr Khán] appreciated her charms, and was finally permitted to marry her in all form. The tale of their loves has been made the subject of a Persian poem of 4,200 verses, the produce of the prolific pen of Mír Khusran (715 A.H.). The interest in her tale is however sadly shaken by her after-fate—the penalty of her beauty—as the enforced wife of two succeeding Sultáns, one the brother and murderer of her husband, the other the foul Pariah, the usurper Khusrau, against whom her proud Rájput blood must indeed have risen."

Malik Náib Káfúr continued his victorious expeditions into the Dak'hin ; and surpassed even his successful master in the amount of glory and spoil which he there acquired. He successively conquered Maháráshtra, Telingána (taking the strong fort of Warangal after a siege of some months), Carnáta, and Malabár as far as Cape Comorin. Having carried the arms of the Emperor of Dehli throughout the Indian Peninsula, he began to intrigue against his master ; and it is more than suspected that he hastened his death by poison. 'Alá-ud-dín's reign is an instance of the success of vigour, even in the worst and most tyrannical despotisms.

The assumption by 'Alá-ud-dín of the title of "the Second Alexander," to indicate his intention to conquer the world, and his notion of setting up a new religion of which he was to be the prophet, are both testified to by his coins. But some of his administrative regulations—such as his enforced rates of prices of provisions—are admirably illustrated by Mr. Thomas's researches. Elphinstone says, in a note on these regulations, "tables of prices are given in Ferishta, and would be interesting if the value of the coins could be better ascertained." Mr. Thomas has done all that is at present possible for the elucidation of these values; and has devoted a long and learned chapter to a discussion of the whole metric system of this period. With regard to the weights and measures, he says:—"From whatever source derived, India is seen to have achieved, in very archaic periods, either out of her marked indigenous aptitude or her frequent chances of exotic inspiration, a very comprehensive system of weights and measures, extending to the elaboration of a binary Troy scheme,* associated with all the essentials of an independent avoirdupois theory, which (perhaps wisely) avoided any recognition of measures of capacity." The coinages of 'Alá-ud-dín were very extensive—doubtless owing to the vast plunder brought from the Dak'hin; many of the gold coins were simply re-mintages of the southern golden pieces, and furnish instances of the well-known practice of converting spoil into camp currencies on the instant. Some are numismatically of great interest, as affording the earliest specimens available of the Muhammadan coinage of the lately conquered city of Deogír, a capital peculiarly identified with the history of 'Alá-ud-dín's early rise and eventual accession to sovereignty.

Fifteenth King, A.D. 1315.—A child named Shaháb-ud-dín Umar was set up for a short time as a puppet-king by the great commander, the eunuch Malik Nàib Káfúr. The latter, however, was almost immediately assassinated by some Páiks;† and as he had already blinded Khizr Khán, the rightful heir, another brother named Mubárák was made regent for Umar. Mubárák soon murdered Khizr Khán, blinded Umar, and transferred the crown to his own brow.

Sixteenth King, A.D. 1316-1320.—Kutb-ud-dín Mubárák Sháh gave himself up to all kinds of debauchery; and resigned the command of the state to his Wazír, Khusrau Khán, a man who was originally a slave, and a Hindu of the lowest caste. Khusrau conquered Malabár in 1319; and on his return to Dehli, personally superintended the murder of the king. He ascended the throne amid an indiscriminate massacre of all prominent adherents of the old Muhammadan dynasty.

* There were separate tables for gold and silver.

† The Pyke (or militia) of our early wars.

The coins of Mubárak are remarkable as disavowing any supremacy of Khalifs or successors of Khalifs, and as arrogating that title and the fullest hierarchical honours to the Sultán.

Seventeenth King, A.D. 1320.—The accession of Násir-ud-dín Khusrau Khán signalised a transient eclipse of Muslim prestige in India. He took the Princess Dewál Déví into his own seraglio, and distributed other Muhammadan women to 'infidel' masters. By his style and titles he seems outwardly to have professed Islám; but the Muhammadan historians are pathetic in their accounts of the indignities inflicted on their religion by him. Had he been a man of good birth—one whom the Hindu Princes could have acknowledged as *Mahárájá Adhirdáj*—the danger to the Muhammadan power might have been great. As it was, the Hindus themselves did not sympathise with this unclean *Páriah*; who was soon in his turn defeated and put to death by Gházi beg Tughlak, the Governor of Daibalpur.

The accession of the latter brings us to the fourth epoch of the early Muhammadan history (*vide* p. 151). We have already noticed the origin of the house of Tughlak.

Eighteenth King, A.D. 1320-1325.—Ghiàs-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh at first affected some reluctance in accepting the vacant throne. His rule was inaugurated by wise regulations tending to the relief and well-being of the cultivators of the soil; and most of his acts appear to have been of a benevolent and just character. In an expedition to Bengal in A.H. 724, he received the submission of Shaháb-ud-dín Bughrá Sháh, and carried the turbulent Bahádúr Sháh, king of *Eastern* Bengal (the territory of Sunárganw), captive to Dehli. The heir-apparent, Fakr-ud-dín Júná or Ulugh Khán who had led two expeditions into the Dak'hin (the last one having been brilliantly successful) was left as Viceroy of Dehli. When his father, the old Sultán, returned in triumph from Bengal in company with his favourite son, Ulugh Khán received them near Dehli in a wooden pavilion which was cunningly devised to fall and crush its occupants. Ulugh Khán contrived to be absent at the time of the catastrophe which killed his father and brother.

In an inscription quoted by Ibn Batutah, this monarch declared that he had encountered the Tatars on twenty-nine occasions and defeated them.

Nineteenth King, A.D. 1325-1351.—Ulugh Khán succeeded under the title of Muhammad bin Tughlak; and in spite of the fact that his cruelties made him hated and feared by all, he reigned for twenty-seven years. He is well described by Mr. Thomas:—"A man of mark, generous to profusion, an accomplished scholar, abstinent, a stern defender of his faith, and the most experienced general of his day. Against these many merits had to be set a determination which hesitated

at no means in the compassing of his own ends, a ferocity possibly inherited from the desert tribes which could conceive no punishment effectual but death, combined with a perversion of intellect which induced him to allow despotism to run into insane fury at any sign of opposition to his will. His mind was cast to know no mercy or compassion as a judge, and he was led to carry out his best intentioned measures with an utter disregard of human suffering, as instanced in the transportation, in some cases* with brutal violence, of the inoffensive citizens of Dehli in a mass, for the mere purpose of filling his newly-created city of Deogír—or the extermination of whole tribes as if they had been vermin, whose single hope of salvation in this world was the profession of Islám." At first, his dominions were more extensive than any that had been possessed by any of his predecessors; but they were utterly incoherent, and the empire fell to pieces during his reign.

The causes of the dissolution of the empire are to be sought for—(1) in the lukewarm loyalty of governors of provinces, now that the tie of nationality (so effective formerly among the ruling classes under the dynasties of the Turks) had disappeared amid the dissensions of the Turks and the Khiljís; (2) in the extent of the empire and the fact of the Sultán generally having to command his own armies—for though he was usually victorious, the very fact of his absence in distant parts encouraged the disaffected elsewhere; (3) in the state of the roads and the general insecurity of the country. A rebellion in Bengal in 1340 was completely successful; the Sultán's early triumph, Warangal (which he had re-named Sultánpúr) reverted to its ancient name in the hands of other masters; Deogír, his chosen capital, submitted to Hasan Gungo, the founder of a new race of kings, the Bahmani dynasty of Kalbarga, who were destined to play a prominent part in the history of the country; and finally Muhammad bin Tughlak, the owner of so many kingdoms, died miserably of a fever near Thatta, on the lower Indus—and his cousin and successor, with the army, had some difficulty in getting back to Dehli.

This monarch is called by Mr. Thomas, a "Prince of Moneyers." He remodeled the coinage, re-adjusted its divisions to the altered relative values of the precious metals, and originated new and more exact representatives of the subordinate circulation. His mintages admirably mark the various phases of his career—his early wealth and reckless profusion, its resulting poverty,

* Of two men, one bedridden and the other blind, who were found by the king's servants lagging behind in Dehli, the former was projected from a catapult; the latter was drag-

ged by the feet to Deogir, a ten days' journey—at the end of which only one leg was remaining to represent the unfortunate wretch.

which he attempted to meet by a forced currency, and equally his ready return to money-payments on its ascertained failure. He attempted, on his coins, to remedy the deficiency of his title to the crown, by substituting for his own name that of an Egyptian scion of the house of Abbás, who (as chance would have it) was already in his grave. Mr. Thomas goes fully into the details of all these subjects of numismatic interest in his chapter on this reign; discussing the various changes in the currency, the intrinsic and the exchange value of the various coins, the institution and the failure of the forced brass currency, and many other kindred topics.

Twentieth King, A.D. 1351-1388.—Fírúz Sháh, the nephew of the late king, succeeded him. Kwájah-i Jahán, the minister in charge of Dehli, believing a report of the death of Fírúz, had set up a supposititious son of Muhammad bin Tughlak; but on the arrival of Fírúz, he paid for his mistake with his life. Fírúz appears to have been a very weak character, addicted to wine, devoted to the chase, credulous, but amiable and merciful to an extent that in less quiet times might have proved disadvantageous. After two unskillfully-conducted campaigns in Bengal, he acknowledged the independence of that province, and also of the Dak'hin. He had successively two very able Wazírs, father and son, both called Khán-i-Jahán, Hindús of Telingána; and for the greater part of his reign he resigned all administrative functions to these men and devoted himself to the exercise of his taste for building, canal-making, and the like.

The system, traditional in India, of combining silver and copper in varied proportions for the gradational sub-divisions of the silver *tankah* or rupee, was brought to a high state of perfection in this reign; and we now obtain for the first time, official recognition of the process employed in the mint, together with a full enumeration of the various pieces deemed necessary for the monetary rates and exchanges of the shop-keeper and the ordinary *bazár* purchases of the people at large. Mr. Thomas quotes from Shams-i-Siráj Afif, the special biographer of Fírúz Sháh, a full account of the improvements made in the circulating media during his patron's reign.

Fírúz Sháh's speciality was the construction and repair of public works; and the amount executed under his orders, though doubtless exaggerated by the historians, was certainly very large. His most important work was the construction of a double system of canals for the supply of his new city of Hisár Fírúzáh, the headwaters of which were drawn both from the Jumna and the Sutlej; the former branch is still used.

Three of the sons of Fírúz Sháh—*viz.*, Fath Khán, Zafar Khán and Násir-ud-dín Muhammad-bin-Fírúz—were successively associated with him in the sovereignty, and their names appear with

his on the coins. The last-named was compelled to flee from the metropolis by two of his cousins ; who proclaimed that the Sultán had abdicated in favour of his grandson Ghíás-ud-dín, the son of the deceased Fath Khán. In the following year Fírúz Sháh died.

Twenty-first King, A.D. 1388.—Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak Shah II, immediately on the death of Fírúz, assumed the full insignia of royalty ; and endeavoured to capture the fugitive Muhammad bin Fírúz. Muhammad escaped to Nagarkot ; and the young Sultán was content to give himself up to unbridled dissipation in the capital, leaving the management of his kingdom to his ministers. One of these, named Rukn Chand, the Náib Wazír, put forward Abúbakr Sháh, the son of Zafar Khán, as a claimant for the throne ; and Tughlak Sháh in attempting to escape from his palace towards the Jumna, was overtaken and killed.

Twenty-second King, A.D. 1389.—On the accession of Abúbakr bin Zafar Khán, his prime-minister Rukn Chand began to intrigue against him ; but a confederacy of nobles attached to the house of Tughlak soon put the treacherous Wazír to death. Muhammad Sháh came out from Nagarkot to assert his own claims ; was unsuccessful in several campaigns ; but being at last joined by Islám Sháh, a very powerful noble (a member of the Association called "the Slaves of Fírúz Sháh"), he succeeded in ousting Abúbakr, who died in prison at Mírat.

Twenty-third King, A.D. 1389-1392.—Násir-ud-dín Muhammad bin Fírúz Sháh reigned three years, during which he suppressed a rebellion of the Rájá of Etáwah, and destroyed his fort. Islám Khán, himself a converted Hindú, was put to death on the false testimony of his own nephew, an unconverted Hindú ; and Kwájah Jahán (afterwards the founder of the powerful dynasty of Jaunpúr) was made Wazír. In the following year the Sultán died.

Twenty-fourth King, A.D. 1392.—Humáyún, the son of Násir-ud-dín Muhammad, succeeded his father ; but died after a brief reign of forty-five days.

Twenty-fifth King, A.D. 1392-1412.—Mahmad bin Muhammad Sháh was perhaps the most insignificant of all the feeble successors of Fírúz Sháh. Insurrections soon sprang up on all sides, resulting in the loss of whole provinces, which now formed independent kingdoms. Prominent among these was Jaunpúr in Bengal, where Mahmúd's own Wazír, Kwájah Jahán, founded a powerful monarchy. Zafar Khán followed his example in Gujarát, under the title of Muzafar Sháh ; Diláwúr Khan in Málwah ; and others elsewhere. In A.D. 1394, Nusrat Khán, a son of Fath Khán, and grandson of Fírúz, was proclaimed Sultán by some powerful nobles in opposition to Mahmúd ; and remained for about three years in possession of the new capital of Fírúzabád, Mahmúd retaining possession of Dehli. At length a powerful nobleman named Mullá

Ikbál Khán, having deceived and ruined Nusrat Khán, got possession of the person of Mahmúd, and carried on the government in his name.

In A.D. 1398 the storm of the invasion of Tímúr broke on Dehli. On the defeat of the Indian army, the surrender and subsequent merciless sack of Dehli followed; and for five days, the Mughal conqueror continued feasting, while his troops plundered and destroyed the hapless citizens of the ill-fated capital. For two months after the departure of Tímúr, the city remained in a state of complete anarchy; then Nusrat Khán obtained possession of it for a short time; and finally it fell once more into the hands of Mullú Ikbál Khán.* The latter was soon joined by the Sultán Mahmúd, who had taken refuge in Gujarát. On a war breaking out between Ikbál Khán and the Sultán of Jaunpúr, Mahmúd deserted to Jaunpúr; but was subsequently settled by consent of both belligerents in the kingdom of Kanauj. After the death of Ikbál Khán, Mahmúd was brought back to Dehli by Daulat Khán Lódi and some other chiefs; and remained there, but without any real power, until his death in 815 A.H.

Twenty-sixth King, A.D. 1395.—Nusrat Sháh is included in the list of kings by Mr. Thomas, who gives examples of several of his coins. His history is given above; we have no account of his end.

The death of Mahmúd brings us to the *Fifth epoch*, according to our division at p. 151.

Twenty-seventh King, A.D. 1412-1414.—On the death of Mahmúd, the notables of Dehli elected Daulat Khán Lódi to be their leader. He never assumed the insignia of royalty; but ruled much in the same way as Mullú Ikbál Khán had ruled in Mahmúd's time, except that Daulat Khán had no living nominal suzerain. He issued money bearing the name of Fírúz Sháh, or of one of his successors; a curious affectation which was continued under the Sayyids, and which is exactly analogous to the issue, in later times, by the English, of sicca rupees bearing the name and date of Sháh 'Alam. Daulat Khán was at length conquered by Khizr Khán, the Governor whom Tímúr had left in Multán.

Twenty-eighth King, A.D. 1414-1421.—Khizr Khán (the first of the Sayyid dynasty) had been governor of Multán under Fírúz Sháh; and, siding with Tímúr in his invasion, had been allowed by

* Mr. Thomas quotes from the *Tárikh-i Mubárák Sháhi*, the following list of the distribution of the empire after the departure of Tímúr:—Mullú Ikbál Khán held Dehli and the Doáb; Zafar Khán (with whom the Sultán Mahmúd at first took refuge), Gujarát; Khizr Khán, Multán.

Daibalpúr, Sind; Mahmúd Khán, Mahobah and Kálpi; Khwajah-i-Jahán, Kanauj, Oudh, Karrah, Dala-mau, Sundelah, Bahraich, Bahár, Jaunpúr; Diláwar Khán, Dhár; Ghálib Khán, Samánah; Shams Khán, Biána.

that conqueror to regain possession of his government. His inglorious reign of seven years at Delhi was spent in idleness and luxury; his Wazir, Taj-ul-Mulk, in the meanwhile, vainly endeavouring to extend the authority of the Imperial Court.

Mr. Thomas elaborately disproves the notion of Ferishta (which he calls a "curious numismatic myth") that Khizr Khán coined money in the name of his patron Tímúr. He is shown to have followed the practice, already sanctioned by Mullú Ikbál, and more definitively recognised by Daulat Khán Lódi, of issuing money in the names, *sometimes with the available original obverse dies*, of his formally-crowned predecessors of the family of Fírúz Sháh.*

Twenty-ninth King, A.D. 1421-1433.—Mu'izz-ud-dín Mubárák Sháh II. succeeded on the death of his father. He has had the advantage of a special biographer, the author of the *Tárikh-i Mubárák Sháhi*, who is said to be "an author of more than usual merit, a careful epitomist of the critical history of the Muslims in India, a conscientious and exact narrator of the events of the later period, of which he had exceptional sources of knowledge, and a living witness of the personal government of his patron and that of his immediate predecessor, as well as of the introductory portion of the reign of Muhammad bin Faríd." There is, however, but little of interest to be found in the thirteen years of incessant provincial warfare of this reign. There were some successful campaigns in Rohilkhand; but Mubárák was continually harassed by the Gakh'hars in the Panjáb, and by a Mughal raids organised by Sháh Rúkh's governor of Kábul. These Mughal raids, by the way, are additional evidence of the fallacy of the popular notion regarding the dependence of this dynasty on the Mughal rulers of Samarkánd. Mubárák was murdered by some

* The way in which this "numismatic myth" gradually developed into faulty history, is interesting and instructive. Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, in his *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, takes his account from the authentic history in the *Tárikh-i Mubárák Sháhi*; but *interpolates* a passage respecting Khizr Khán's refraining from assuming the title of king and holding himself as a vassal of Tímúr and Sháh Rúkh. Ferishta follows Nizám-ud-dín; and Elphinstone, following Ferishta, says:—"Khizr Khán affected to regard Tamerlane as Emperor, and to govern in his name, without the title or forms of royalty." Colonel Meadows Taylor states that "Khizr Khán held his authority on behalf of

the Emperor Timoor;" and, a little further on (evidently confounding Khizr Khán with his Wazir Taj-ul-mulk) he adds:—"Khizr Khán was an active and successful general, and recovered many of the outlying provinces. He was engaged in constant operations in the field from 1416 to 1421." A recent compiler (the author of the *Analytical History of India*, referred to at p. 155) states that Khizr Khán was left, *at the death of Mahmúd*, as governor of Delhi; whilst, in the genealogical table of the Syuds, he is said to have been "placed on the throne of Delhi by Tamerlane, for whom he affected to govern"!

Hindú assassins at the instigation of his Vazir, Sarwar-ul-Mulk, himself a Hindú.

Thirtieth King, A.D. 1433-1443.—Muhammad bin Faríd, a grandson of Khizr Khán and nephew of the murdered king, was immediately proclaimed by the Wazír. The latter proceeded to appropriate the royal treasures and to carry on the government as he liked; but some nobles rose against him and besieged him in Sírí (a part of Dehli); and in a conflict between a band of assassins (sent by him to murder the Sultán) and some loyal adherents of Muhammad, the Wazír was slain.

For a short time Muhammad ruled well and with energy; but he soon relapsed into indolence and dissipation. The Sultán of Jaunpúr seized some of his dominions; and Mahmúd Khiljí, king of Málwah, even attacked the capital itself. Muhammad was relieved from his difficulties by Buhlól Lódi, governor of Lahor; who, however, subsequently turned his arms against his nominal suzerain—though with no immediate success.

Thirty-first King, A.D. 1443-1451.—'A'lam Sháh, as he is called on the coins—better known as 'Alá-ud-dín bin Muhammad—succeeded on the death of his father; but was not acknowledged by the all-powerful Buhlól Lódi, who made another unsuccessful attempt upon Dehli. The Sultán now withdrew his court to Badáon. His Wazír, Hamíd Khán, falling into disgrace, fled to Dehli from Badáon; and treacherously opened the gates of that capital to Buhlól Lódi. Shortly afterwards, 'A'lam Sháh agreed to resign the empire to the latter, on condition of being allowed to live in peace at Badáon.

Thirty-second King, A.D. 1450-1488.—The vigorous rule of the Afghán, Buhlól Lódi, forms a strong contrast to the weakness of his immediate predecessors. With energy and success he reduced his local governors to submission. A prolonged war of twenty-six years with the kings of Jaunpúr, with varying success, ultimately terminated in the complete annexation of that kingdom; and the Sultán placed his own son Barbak in charge of the government. At his death in 1488, his authority was acknowledged from the Panjáb to Bengal.

Under this reign, Mr. Thomas enters into a long and careful discussion of the value, weight, and material of the *Buhlólí*; which appears from the writings of historians to have been a recognized and *quasi*-standard coin of the period, but of which modern collections afford no example. It took the place of the ancient *paisa*, and was the connecting link between that coin and the later *dám*, in which the revenues of the Mughal Emperors were afterwards computed. It is shown by Mr. Thomas to have been equal to the double-kársha (whether coined or not), of a weight of copper equal to 280 grains; forty of them being equivalent to the silver *tankah*.

Thirty-third King, A.D. 1488-1517.—Nizám had been nominated the heir to the crown by his father Buhlól; and he accordingly ascended the imperial *maenad* with the title of Sikandar Sháh, though not without some opposition from his elder brother Bárbak. The latter had been assigned the throne of Jaunpúr, at the time when the old Sultán divided his dominions in A.H. 883; and he now refused to have the *Khutbah* or public prayer recited in Jaunpúr in the name of his younger brother. War broke out, in which Bárbak was defeated, but he was subsequently forgiven and restored to his government. During the succeeding years the Sultán was occupied in the subjection of Sultán Sharf, which was completed by the capture of his stronghold of Biana; and in the suppression of two formidable insurrections in Jaunpúr and Oudh. In A.D. 1491, Sikandar conquered the whole of Bihár; dispossessing Hussain, the last of the former royal line of Jaunpúr, who took refuge with 'Alá-ud-dín, king of Bengal. With the last-named monarch he concluded a treaty, settling boundaries and other questions of rights. In A.D. 1503, the Sultán for the first time fixed his residence at Agra; which from this time was to supersede Dehli as the capital of Hindústán. Sikandar's reign was disgraced by an unusual display of bigotry, evidenced principally in a persevering destruction of Hindú temples, on the sites of which were raised Muslim mosques.

The investigation of the coinage of Sikandar Lódi is of the highest antiquarian importance; for, in the *Sikandari tankah* of mixed silver and copper (of which twenty were equivalent to a *silver tankah*) we find the earliest coinage of those *double dāms*, whose evaluation is necessary for the comprehension of the later Mughal revenues. The advantages and disadvantages of the use of this alloyed coin are well explained by Mr. Thomas; he says:—"The reverting to the alloy of mixed silver and copper regained all the old advantages of the portability of the coin, and all objection to the use of composite metal was removed in the limitation of the entire issue to one average value; while, on the other hand, the difficulty and loss incident to the recovery of the silver from this money, for the construction of ornaments, &c., secured for it a permanency in its coined form which pure silver and gold could never have commanded." In point of portability, it is obvious that mixed masses of silver and copper (in which the silver predominates for the higher values, and the copper for the lower) must be far more convenient than inconveniently large masses of copper alone, or inconveniently small flakes of silver. The disadvantages of the use of such coin consist mainly in the temptation to fraud on the part of the mint authorities.

Bábar, in his memoirs, states that his gift to his son Humáyún, on the distribution of the treasures of the Lodi family, amounted

to 70 lakhs ; Nizám-ud-dín says the same ; in Khwandamir we are informed that the gift was composed of *Sikandari tankahs* ; and Ferishtah states that the sum was 350,000 rupees, which determines the value of the *Sikandari tankah* as given above. It was used not only as a coin, but also as a measure ; for a certain number of diameters (Mr. Thomas believes the number to have been 42) were together equal in length to the *Sikandari gaz* or yard.

Thirty-fourth King, A.D. 1517-1530.—Ibráhim succeeded his father Sikandar. His arrogance disgusted many of the nobles, especially those of his own tribe of Lódi, who speedily sought to reduce his power by placing his brother Jalál on the throne of Jaunpúr. The latter, finding that his position was not a very secure one and that his adherents were not to be trusted, determined on bold measures ; and endeavoured to oust his brother, proclaiming himself Sultán under the title of Jalál-ud-dín. After some temporary successes, he was captured and put to death.

The cruelties practised by Ibráhim on the suppression of this rebellion caused a general hostility to him. The viceroy of Bibár assumed independence ; Daulat Lódi, the governor of some of the dependencies of the Panjáb, then rebelled, and called in the aid of Bábar and his Mughals. Bábar had already, in A.D. 1524, obtained possession of Lahor. The first expedition against Ibráhim led by his own uncle 'Alá-ud-dín, brother of Sikandar, was unsuccessful ; but Bábar soon followed in person, and Ibráhim lost his kingdom and his life at the celebrated battle of Panipat, on the 7th of Rajab, A.H. 932.

At this point we shall cease to endeavour to form a consecutive historical sketch out of Mr. Thomas's valuable historical notes. We do so with some regret, for much of the information contained in the later notes—our author carries us on to Akbar—is both novel and interesting ; and we agree with Mr. Thomas in fixing the commencement of the real Mughal Empire at the second battle of Panipat, the defeat of Hemú by Bairám. The Afghán dynasty of Shír Sháh belongs emphatically to the pre-Mughal period of Indian history ; and the temporary occupation of Hindústán by Bábar and Humáyún no more indicated a final Mughal conquest, than the somewhat less extensive and more ephemeral occupation by Timúr. Had the successors of Shír Sháh possessed a tithe of the vast abilities that distinguished that prince—had Humáyún been dependent on his own resources, unaided by the military skill of Bairám or the dissensions of his Afghán opponents—the Mughal conquest might still have been indefinitely postponed. But we refrain from following Mr. Thomas's annals to the end, at all events for the present ; partly because they immediately lead us into vexed discussions on the

subject of the Mughal revenues, which are manifestly foreign to our subject; partly because we are unwilling to attempt any careful consideration of the history of the Shír Sháh dynasty shortly before the appearance of the fourth volume of Sir Henry Elliot's History, which is believed to contain an extraordinary amount of new information on this very subject. We will content ourselves, then, with indicating one or two of the main points evolved by Mr. Thomas in this part of his work.

The debateable question of the actual amount of the revenues enjoyed by the Mughal Emperors is fully discussed under the reigns of Bábar and Akbar. After the bulk of Mr. Thomas's work had been set up by the printer, his attention was directed by some articles in this *Review*,* to De Laët's curious and very rare work *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*; and herein he found evidence of such importance that he was induced to add a very valuable appendix, in which he embodies the new evidence with a recapitulation of the whole discussion. The point at issue may briefly be stated thus:—The revenues of these princes are generally given as *so many krórs, lakhs, &c.*, without any statement of the denomination—so that silver rupees or *tankahs*, or *sikandari tankahs*, or simply *dáms*, may be meant. A quotation from Erskine's *Memoirs of Bábar* will illustrate thus:—"The amount of this revenue (Bábar's Indian Revenue) of 52 krórs, if considered as represented in single *dáms*, according to the mode of computation in Akbar's reign, would be £1,300,000; if in double *dáms*, according to the calculation of Ferishtah, £2,600,000; if we adopted the mode of reckoning suggested by the facts stated by Mirza Haidar, it would be £4,212,000; while if we take the *tankah* at 7½*d.*, which is somewhat below the lowest rate, it reached in the reign of Sultán Muhammad bin Tughlak,† the amount would be £16,250,000; but if at its full and proper value of a *rupee*, £52,000,000." Thus Erskine leaves the amount an open question, with a possible range from £1,300,000 to £52,000,000! The proof, noticed above,‡ which is given by Mr. Thomas of the amount presented by Bábar to Humáyún being computed in *Sikandari tankahs* or *double dáms*, first of all induced him to adopt that standard in this and in similar instances; and the new evidence found in De Laët appears to establish the justice of this conclusion. The question, however, is a wide one; and can hardly be considered to be finally disposed of even now; we still look for a full analysis of the revenue-notes of the *Akbar-námah*, and an outline of the several settlements made by that

* "The Topography of the Mogul Empire."—*Calcutta Review*, October 1870 and January 1871.

† Mr. Thomas corrects this statement at p. 229.

‡ See p. 170.

Emperor. The following is the result arrived at by Mr. Thomas :—

	Silver <i>tankahs</i> , or rupees.
Fīrūz Shāh, A.D. 1351-1388	... 6,08,50,000
Bābar, A.D. 1526-1530	... 2,60,00,000
Akbar, A.D. 1593	... 32,00,00,000
Akbar, <i>estimated</i> later returns	... 33,14,87,772
Akbar, A.D. 1605	... 34,90,00,000
Jahāngīr, A.D. 1609-1611*	... 50,00,00,000
Jahāngīr, A.D. 1628	... 35,00,00,000
Shāh Jahān, A.D. 1648	... 44,00,00,000
Aurangzīb, A.D. 1697	... 38,71,94,000

Mr. Thomas's notice of the administrative abilities of Shīr Shāh is a very appreciative one ; and he regrets that it is almost impossible for historians, at this late period, to do justice to his character, or to restore to him that meed of honour for his "systemization of the revenue and fiscal departments" which Akbar's eulogists have appropriated to their own master. Erskine, in his *Bābar*, had already noticed that many of Shīr Shāh's revenue regulations were retained or renewed by Akbar, and seem to have made a part of Todar Mal's improved system of finance. Sir Henry Elliot also was strongly impressed with the value of Shīr Shāh's reforms ; and Mr. Thomas says of him "I have reason to believe he will be found to have collected much information on the subject during his patient investigations into this interesting portion of the history of India." Mr. Thomas's notes on the coins of this reign shew that Shīr Shāh not only corrected the progressive deteriorations of the currencies of previous reigns, but also introduced many of those improvements which the succeeding Mughals claimed as their own. As the abundance of his coins now extant attests the magnitude and settled nature of his power, so do the numerous geographical records they display assure us of the unusual completeness of his subjects' recognition of his sway. Foremost amongst his monetary improvements was the supersession of the use of mixed silver-and-copper coins, which had given rise to interminable abuses under the later Pathān kings.†

When Muhammad Ghori had so far settled his conquests in India as to be able to confide them to his viceroy Kutb-ud-dīn and to return to Ghazni, his other lieutenants in the various outlying provinces each tried to extend the frontiers of Islām beyond the limits already acquired. Of these we have already noticed some in the historical notes on the kingdom of Dehli ; another, whose attempts were productive of more lasting results, remains to be noticed. Muhammad Bakhtīār Khiljī, *Sipahsāldār* in Oudh, in

* This is only a rough estimate by Captain Hawkins. † On this point, see above, p. 169.

A.D. 1203, pushed his forces southward; and expelling the ancient Hindú dynasty of Nuddea, he acquired the kingdom of Bengal in *quasi*-sovereignty, fixing his capital at Lakhnautí. The throne thus founded lasted, with varying fortune and under sovereigns of various families, until its final extinction by Akbar. Up to the time of the emperor Fírúz III., A.H. 754, its fortunes were more or less closely connected with those of the Imperial crown of Dehli; and historical notes on this period, together with full accounts of the coinages, are given by Mr. Thomas in the form of occasional digressions which maintain a chronological consecutiveness. Generally the same ruler was lord of the whole of Bengal; sometimes the power was contested between the lords of two or more of the various capitals—Lakhnautí, Sonárganw, Sátganw, Pandúa, &c. Sometimes the Bengal kings were altogether independent; generally, however, they were coerced into a more or less strict feudal submission; and sometimes (as in the times of the Emperors Altamsh and Balban) they were themselves sons of the Dehli monarchs, established by the power and as the viceregents of the latter. We are unable in this place to attempt to follow the history of this province, which is always somewhat complicated, and is frequently very obscure. Some geographical notes, however, given by Mr. Thomas on the mint-cities of Bengal, are too novel and interesting to be entirely passed over. The leading mint-cities were seven in number:—(1) Lakhnautí, called by the later writers (but *only* by the later ones) Gaur; (2) Fírúzábád, or Pandúa, with the adjacent citadel of Akdálah, celebrated in the invasion of Fírúz Sháh III.; (3) Sátganw (now a deserted village near Húgli), at one time the capital of the third circle of the government of Bengal Proper; (4) Shahr Nau, called by European travellers *Cernove*, and subsequently known as Jannatábád close to Lakhnautí; (5) Sonárganw, generally the capital of Eastern Bengal, not far from the more modern Dacca, and now said to be submerged by the Ganges; (6) Mu'azzamábád, identified by Professor Blochmann as Mu'azzampúr near Sonárganw, the successor of the last-named city in metropolitan honours; and (7) Ghiáspúr, near Gaur, about one mile north-west of Maldah.

For much of the local history of Bengal as elucidated by its coins, we are indebted to the fortunate discovery of a large hoard of some 13,000 coins in Kúch Bihár, about three miles south-west of Deenhatta.

Most of the collateral Muhammadan dynasties of India during the period treated of, are made the subjects of careful numismatic and historical notices by Mr. Thomas; as also are two or three of the Hindú dynasties. In the earlier part of the period, the collateral coinages generally illustrate the gradual extension of the Muhammadan power; in the later portion, they illustrate the

disintegration of the great Pathán empire of Dehli. As an instance of the former we may cite the coinages of the Cháandel dynasty, in Mahoba and Kálinjar ; and those of the lieutenants of Muhammad Ghorí, already noticed. We have many and very important instances of the latter form of illustration. Foremost, in point of direct connexion with the throne of Dehli, come the mintages of the Jaunpúr dynasty ; which maintained a separate, and at times a very vigorous, existence from A.D. 1393 to A.D. 1474, and was only suppressed (as we have seen above, p. 168.) by the long and sustained exertions of Buhlól Lódi.

The most important of these collateral dynasties (except that of Bengal, of which we have already spoken), in power and in duration, was that of the Bahmani kings of Kalbargah in the Dak'-bin. Owing to Muhammad bin Tughlak's many difficulties towards the end of his reign, Zafar Khán (afterwards called Hasan Gango Bahmani) was enabled, in A.D. 1347, to seize the greater portion of the imperial dominions in the Dak'hin ; and at the period of his death his rule extended over nearly all Maháráshtra, a small portion of Telingána, together with Raichor and Múdgul in the Carnatic. When Muhammad Sháh succeeded Hasan Gango, in A.D. 1358, he divided the kingdom into four parts or *tarafs*. During the course of 130 years, the kingdom was largely increased by successive conquests ; and under Muhammad Sháh II, the old divisions of Kalbarga, Daulatábád, Telingána, and Berár, were subdivided respectively into (1) BÍjapúr and Ahsanábád, (2) Daulatábád and Junír, (3) Rajamandri and Warangal, (4) Gawel and Máhúr. Out of these governments arose, at and before the final extinction of the Bahmani dynasty in the person of Kalím-ullah, in A.D. 1525, the several dynasties of 'Adil Sháhi, Nizám Sháhi, Kutb-Sháhi, Imád Sháhi and Baríd Sháhi.

Owing their existence to the feebleness of the successors of Fírúz Sháh, were the Muhammadan dynasties of Gujráat, and Málwah (Mandu) ; whilst the Gehlót Kings of Mewár attained a temporary grandeur, aided by the same cause. Zafar Khán was appointed governor of Gujaráat by Muhammad bin Fírúz ; and eventually assumed independence, under the title of Muzaffar Sháh, in A.D. 1390. Ahmad Sháh, the grandson of this prince, founded Ahmadábád and Ahmadnagar about A.D. 1420. Muzaffar Sháh II, who came to the throne in 1511, is celebrated for his contests with the famous Rána Sangá of Mewár. Bahádur Sháh in 1531 conquered and annexed Málwah ; and after many contests with the Dehli troops was at last put to death by the Portuguese at Diu in 943 A.H. The kingdom was finally annexed to Akbar's dominions in A.D. 1571.

The dynasty of Málwah was founded by Diláwar Khán *Ghorí* in A.D. 1401. He had been appointed governor by Fírúz Tughlak

in 1387 ; deserting Ujjain, the ancient Hindú capital, he set up his residence at Dhar, and declared himself king. His son Alp Khán, who succeeded him under the name of Húshang, founded and strongly fortified Mándú. In 1435, the Ghori dynasty was put aside, and a Khiljí substituted for it ; and under Mahmúd, the first of the Khiljí princes, the Muslim State of Málwah was at its zenith. At this period its boundaries embraced the cities of Chandéri, Islámábád, Húshangábád, and Kirlah (the capital of Gondwana) ; extending on the south to the Satpúrah range, on the west to the frontier of Gujrát, and on the east to Bundelkhand ; while northwards the limits were marked by Méwár and Hárauti, with occasional tribute from Chítór.

Of the Gehlót Kings of Mewár, Mr. Thomas says :— “ Another contemporary dynasty, whose history is closely interwoven with the annals of Dehli, Málwah, and Gujrát, claims a passing notice, both for the heroism of its leaders, the interest attaching to the recovery of power by the Hindús, and the re-establishment of a kingdom which might possibly have progressed into a more permanent form had its adversaries been confined to the detached and weakened Muslim monarchies encircling its frontiers, but which was destined to fall, with the surrounding states of hostile creed, before the assaults of the alien Mughals, whom Bábar led into India.” In A.D. 1440, in the reign of Mahmúd Khiljí of Málwah, the combined forces of Mandu and Gujarát were defeated by the heroic Rána Khumbo of Mewár, and the Málwah monarch was taken prisoner. The splendid *Jaya Stambha* or Pillar of Victory at Chitor, commemorates this resuscitation of Hindú prowess. The grandson of Khumbo, the celebrated Rána Sangá, was finally defeated by Bábar in A.D. 1527. Mr. Thomas gives some coins both of Khumbo and of Sangá ; and a quotation from Ferishtah which amusingly records the jealousy displayed by Mahmúd Khiljí at Rána Khumbo's presuming to coin money.

We cannot too highly praise the patience and industry which Mr. Thomas has brought to bear on the very perplexed chronology of the period under notice. The difficulties of Muhammadan chronology are well-known. The year is purely lunar, consisting of twelve months ; each month being reckoned from the appearance of the new moon, without any intercalation. In practice, months of 30 and 29 days are made to alternate, thus completing a year of 354 days ; eleven times in thirty years—on the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 18th, 21st, 24th, 26th, and 29th years—one day is added to the last month ; giving a year of 355 days. The difficulty of exactly fixing a date, when all these complications are taken into account, is obvious at a glance ; and has been practically demonstrated by the chronological inaccuracy of all former English writers on Muhammadan history. Even the

leading dates which we have quoted in the present article—those of the accession of kings and similar important events—will show this fact, if compared with the corresponding dates given by Elphinstone or any other English writer. It is on this account that the tabulated lists of the kings of Dehli and Bengal with the date of their accession according to the Hijrah era, *together with the date A.D. of the first day of the particular Hijrah year*, will be of the utmost value to all future students of the history of the period. Other important corrections of commonly received history—as, for instance, in the case of the mythical invasion of Bengal by Changiz Khán in A.H. 642, and in that of the supposed relations between the conqueror Tímúr and the *Sayyid* Sultáns of Dehli—have been already noticed in this article in their proper places.

Where we have found so much to praise in all the great points of this most valuable work, we are unwilling to appear to mar the effect of that praise by any cavilling about comparatively unimportant details; but we cannot help expressing our regret that Mr. Thomas has not furnished us with the translations of the legends on coins and of the inscriptions, &c. In his preface he says, in vindication of this omission:—"It has been generally confessed from the first day 'Aladdin' appeared in a European dress, that Oriental names would not bear translation; and the inflated titles of the East, rendered in the subdued language of the West, would jar even more harshly upon English ideas. My leading object in this work has been to collect materials for history, in the form of documents which it was primarily desirable to retain in their most authentic form or in the nearest possible approach to their original integrity—translations in such cases would be in effect mere repetitions." But it must be conceded that, in the case of obscure or of doubtful legends, a translation affords one test of the accuracy of the reading; the interpreter is compelled to state precisely where there is a doubt, and must usually give some reasons for his reading. Mr. Thomas will certainly be the first to allow that in some cases his version may be doubtful or even wrong; whilst in many apparently dubious cases, it is very likely that the arguments which he could adduce in support of his interpretation, would be such as to convince the most sceptical.

But this is a very minor point. The *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli* will in all probability remain the standard work on the period for many years to come.

ART. VII.—THE WILD TRIBES OF INDIA.

Political Dissertation prefixed to a Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia. By W. W. Hunter, B.A., M.R.A.S. London. 1868.

A Sketch of Mhairwarra. By Col. Dixon.

IN considering the history of colonization, we find that from the earliest times the chief difficulty of the conqueror in consolidating his conquest, has consisted in dealing with the wild tribes or aborigines of his new dominion. A moment's reflection will render the reason of this intelligible. The displacement of the ruling power of a country by arms, only confers on the conqueror, by the Law of Nations, the right of succeeding to the imperial domain, comprising the public treasury, crown jewels, forts, arsenals, arms and munitions of war, the public revenue in all its branches—in short, all that can be held to appertain to the State. Private property of every description and to whomsoever belonging, remains intact. Thus a change in the ruling power by conquest may bring but little change to the general population, whose fate it may have been to pass under many successive yokes. At all events when once a foreign invader is victorious, the people, however desperate a resistance their patriotism may have led them to make while the struggle lasted, can have no object in thwarting the consolidation of the victor's conquest by individual recusancy, a course which could only be pursued at the imminent risk to the parties concerned of life and private property. Far otherwise is it, however, with the aborigines of the newly conquered country. Retreating as they have done perhaps before the waves of preceding invasions to the shelter of their hill and jungle fortresses, and never having succumbed to any former conqueror, they are little likely to regard the new one in any other light than a fresh usurper of their original patrimonial land, albeit not within the memory of their ancients, nor by the rude monumental records of their history, and hardly within the vaguest traditions of their bards, could any trace of the occupation of the same by their ancestors be found. What matter? The plea or pretension based on former proprietorship, favoured by the relaxation of temporary anarchy which generally obtains as the transitional state between successive rules, affords the aboriginal tribes the welcome opportunity for their lawless operations under the pretext of reprisals. Convoys are cut off; detached posts surprised; public communications stopped; till the conqueror harrassed by incessant worryings, has seriously to consider the question how to deal with this disturbing element in his new dominion. This brings us to the consideration

of the different modes in which this problem has been solved, or attempted to be solved, in various countries by the dominant race, an enquiry which we may preface by a few preliminary observations not irrelevant to the subject.

The condition and character of the wild tribes inhabiting the several countries which have fallen at different times under the sway of the civilised nations of the world, may be regarded as among the most interesting branches of at once ethnological enquiry and political disquisition. In tracing the different modes in which contact with the dominant race has modified the character of aboriginal tribes, we are furnished with no bad clue to the character of the rule of the dominant races respectively. It is creditable to the conquerors when we can discern, as we do sometimes, the presence of a ruling principle of action—often a high one—and in some cases ascending to the dignity of a mission. Thus, in the class of cases where we observe the process of assimilation between the dominant and subject races rapidly accomplished, we are led to infer that the dominant race in question has been impressed with a sense of its mission to blanch the babies' faces.

In another class of cases, again, where aborigines are brought into contact with superior races, we find the natives disappear before the advance of civilization. Here we naturally infer that the assumed mission of the dominant race concerned was to reclaim and improve the waste lands of the earth. Without recurring to the divine origin of this mission, and the celebrated syllogism by which the latter-day saints prove their title to the possession of the earth, we note that the original occupants are to be improved concurrently, but by the process both professed and practised by this school of the world's regenerators—improved off the face of the land. For the doctrine itself in the abstract there is, it must be admitted, some show of plausibility. The savage, it is contended, has no more right to the land which he does not till, than the wild beasts roaming over the same domain. Conceding this point for the sake of argument, will it be further contended that there is no better way of bringing the land in question under the plough than by getting rid at once of the savages and the wild beasts by one and the same process—shooting them down? If according to the epigrammatic dictum in law, the worst use you can put a man to, is to hang him, it may well be admitted *à priori* that the worst use you can put a savage to is to shoot him down. For when your new possessions are lying untilld for want of acclimatised labour, as will probably happen as the result of such a method of acquisition, it will be too late to consider the question of how to deal with the original denizens. This is an argument which may not be generally intelligible in England, labouring as she does under the pressure of a redundant population

which it has been her chief care to get rid of by organized emigration schemes. But there are doubtless many among our readers who have witnessed in many parts of the world, and specially in India, hundreds of thousands of acres of the finest land favoured by every conceivable advantage of climate, soil, elevation, water-supply, &c., lying hopelessly barren for want of population. Such observers will at once understand and appreciate the above argument in its politico-economic bearing.

This brings us to the consideration of the condition and prospects of the aborigines under a third class of rulers, a dominant race who, without amalgamating or assimilating by miscegenation with the subject races, nevertheless recognises in them one of the main elements of their own industrial prosperity upon which alone imperial power can be securely based. Such rulers frame their policy accordingly; but the essential condition of success here is the employment of good administrators.

No country that we know of has so many different races of wild tribes among its population as India. The mountain chains, forests, jungles and deserts which characterise vast tracts of the country, have afforded from time immemorial secure retreat to the more indomitable of the inhabitants when the waves of successive invasions swept over the land. Hence we find the aborigines of the present day, who represent the unsubdued class in question, present many characteristic features in common, induced by the influence of similar circumstances and conditions of existence for ages, though differing much in external formation, stature and other physical points, according to difference of original race, intensified by diversity of climate, food and other varying circumstances of their respective places of abode. Thus nothing can be more marked than the difference in appearance, structure and habits, between hill tribes and the jungle denizens of the plains between the amphibious creatures of the sea-board feeding on fish, and the unfledged bipeds of the interior feeding on fruits. In view, then, of its diversity of races, with their different institutions and idiosyncracies, demanding for their management the adaptation of personal government with discriminating judgment, to no country perhaps so much as India is Pope's dictum applicable:—

For forms of government let fools contest,
That which is best administered, is best.

In considering the present condition of the aborigines of India, and taking it as a test of the character of the rule under which they have subsisted for many generations back, the Government of India need not, we believe, fear comparison with any other Government under which aboriginal races have fallen, whether in other British dependencies or in foreign States. In this opinion we find ourselves at variance with the view taken by Mr. Hunter, and

very decidedly expressed in the pages of the brilliant essay which we have named at the head of this article. Carried away rather, as we think, by a generous sympathy for his clients, the Non-Aryans, which has manifestly rendered his illustration of their language a labour of love, we consider that he has been inadvertently betrayed into an injustice towards the late *régime* when he remarks that "during the whole history of the East India Company, it is impossible to adduce a single effort to benefit the Non-Aryan tribes which received efficient support." This unfavourable opinion regarding the neglect with which he believed the Non-Aryans had been treated by the Government, it is manifest from the internal evidence of the "Dissertation," was thoroughly honest and conscientious, formed upon such examples as the author had before him. That it was expressed, moreover, with reluctance, is equally apparent from his remarks on Colonel Dixon's success with the Mhairs, where he adds with fine generosity of feeling :—"To the honour of British administrators, be it said, the same transformation has taken place in many a remote forest of India ; and I fear that in pleading for the universal and systematic adoption of the policy which has produced such bright isolated results, I may have too sparingly acknowledged many noble individual efforts." That Mr. Hunter should have acquired so much and varied knowledge of India, within so comparatively short a time, is a marvel of industry and concentrated power of acquisition which has rarely been equalled. But it was hardly to be expected that he could dive into the dark recesses of every "remote forest of India," or exhume from the equally dark recesses of official pigeon-holes the records of all the good work done under their cold shade. No one, we feel assured then, will more cordially acknowledge than Mr. Hunter himself, any information we can offer on the subject which he has so near at heart, or be more ready, we equally believe, to modify the opinions he has expressed, if it can be shown that they have been formed on imperfect premises.

Of the different modes of dealing with aborigines which we have above sketched, it may be claimed for the Government of India that from an early period of its rule, it has adopted the last—a policy, namely, of reclaiming and utilizing the wild tribes ; and the instances of the success of its efforts in this direction to which we shall have to refer, will not suffer by contrast with examples in other parts of the world of the results of the contrary policy of repression and extermination. The proceedings of the Dutch at the Cape and of the British in New Zealand occur at the moment as the most prominent illustrations of the latter policy. In reviewing some years ago in these pages Sutherland's *Cape Tribes*, we had occasion to remark on the Commando system of the Dutch under which the Kaffirs were shot down like wild beasts whenever

they came within sight of the Dutch line of posts. Where is now the Dutch dominion? and what? The Kaffirs, not exterminated, undiminished, still roam as nomades over their ancestral plains. The history of the British occupation of New Zealand, again, presents from first to last as lamentable an example of the policy in question as the annals of colonization all over the world could furnish. We gladly turn from the revolting record of massacres or reprisals and ultimate failure of results, exhibited in the instances of repression here cited, to the following examples of the efforts of the Government of India in dealing with its wild tribes, and the details of which, in view of their political success, humanising influence and romantic incident, will, we believe, be equally appreciated by the statesman, philanthropist, and general reader.

Where shall we begin? Hast seen the Aravalli Mountains, Reader? Hast traversed that great back-bone of India, the watershed dividing the rivers of the East from those of the West, and affording in its forest recesses secure retreat for the tiger, natural and human? Hast sailed on the ship of the desert across the trackless ocean of the Great Western Desert of India, deluded by the mirage on the one hand, by the sameness of the ever-recurring sand-hills on the other, till faint and weary thou wouldst fain in despair retrace thy steps? 'Tis too late! Unhappy man! Thou'rt lost! and as the wolves and jackals come prowling around, and the vultures fly in circles over thy level in instinctive expectation of a doomed and sinking prey, thou thinkest of the green fields which shall never more gladden thine eyes, and of the smiling homestead with its once smiling faces, now and henceforward, alas! to be changed into weeping and mourning for the lost in the desert. Hast crossed the Great Barrier Jungle—that dread belt of forest girdling the continent from west to east, like the girdle of the Eumenides, intertwined with serpents, equally deadly in its malarious sting, dealing certain death to the traveller who shall venture or be constrained by fatigue to linger for repose under its fatal night-shade? It was here “the fatal march” from Mhow was made. Ride on—ride on; nor draw rein till the opening plains beyond afford assurance of a safe bivouac, or thy whitening bones shall form one more cairn in monumental trophy of the power of the presiding Furies who, in this Tartarean wild, take the place of the Dryads of the grove. Hast traversed the interlaced hill and jungle tract of the Khirar where the boundaries of four different States meet, a disposition of territory affording the once lawless race of Meenas infesting the tract favourable opportunities of carrying on their depredations with impunity, jumping the border in any direction to evade pursuit, and playing off the jealousies of the rival States one against the other? We shall have to penetrate each and all of

these natural fortresses to follow the subjects of our essay to their lair, and may meet with as bold and brave Rob Roys as ever illustrated in brilliant lawlessness the minstrelsy of the Scottish border.

It is forty years since the tract of country known as Kandeish on the southern borders of the great barrier jungle we have sketched above, was infested with a tribe of aborigines (Bheels) of the most troublesome character. The highway between Central India and Bombay lying through the tract in question, serious public inconvenience was experienced in convoys being molested, travellers plundered, and the post frequently cut off. Outram was sent into Kandeish to restore order. His first step was to raise a corps of these very Bheels. His reports regarding its formation, dating back to the year 1830, have passed under our eye. The wildest spirits of the tribe would appear to have taken service, readily finding it congenial occupation, and from the day of their abstraction from the tribe disorder in the district diminished. The difficulty of dealing with a race so rude, and not unnaturally distrustful of our intentions, was strikingly illustrated by one incident detailed in the reports. Sir James, then Captain Outram, relates how he had been in the habit of sleeping in the lines of his men, in order that such an exhibition of confidence in them might win their confidence in return. In this hope, as time wore on and fresh recruits thronged in for enlistment, he thought he had succeeded. What was his surprise, then, when on awaking one morning he found that every man enrolled in the corps had decamped. Without a note of warning, without a hint of any grievance, scared by some vague, absurd rumour, the whole body fled as they believed for their lives, in the dead of the night. The report goes on to describe how on managing to re-open communications with the fugitives, Outram worked on their wild sense of honour by upbraiding them with their want of confidence in one who had shown such unbounded confidence in them as to sleep nightly under their bayonets. The men were quite ashamed of themselves, never afterwards exhibiting the slightest wavering in their duty, but continuing to progress steadily towards that degree of efficiency in respect of discipline and fidelity which has since rendered the Khandeish Bheel Corps the main instrument in the preservation of order in that wild and theretofore disturbed district.

The Meywar Bheel Corps was raised in the year 1841 in the Meywar tract of the Aravalli Mountains by Colonel, then Captain Hunter. The accounts of its formation and progress we glean chiefly from the reports of Colonel Showers, who, as Political Agent in the States of Meywar, would appear to have had this corps under his observation and general control. He describes

how he saw the first recruits enrolled, naked savages with bows and arrows, fresh from their native hills, which then as yet rang with the shrill *khilkee*, or Bheel war-cry ; how in the year 1850 it fell to his lot to inspect the corps, when he found that in that comparatively brief space the corps had attained such a degree of proficiency in drill as to go through a field-day in a manner which would have done credit to any Native Regiment of the Line ; further, how a detachment of the corps on the same occasion formed his escort, and protected his camp with such vigilance and honesty, that not a single robbery or theft occurred. During the great mutiny, again, that period of convulsion and trial, the crucial test of all that was sound or rotten in our institutions, this Meywar Bheel Corps is reported to have behaved with remarkable steadiness and fidelity, operating against the mutinous regulars with a total absence of sympathy with them. As in the case of the Kandeish corps, the raising of this Bheel Corps in Meywar brought tranquillity to that part of the country, opening the road into Goojerat, which up to that day had only been traversed under the protection of heavy black-mail to the Bheel Chiefs.

The Malwa Bheel Corps was raised by Captain Stuckley in the year 1842, at Sirdarpoor, near Bhupawar on the Mbye. Its formation conduced much to the tranquillization of that part of the country. A detachment of the corps was present at Indore in the great mutiny, and stood faithful to their duty when Holkar's troops, joining the Mhow mutineers, attacked the Residency.

The next example has reference to the Meenas of the Khirar, the hilly tract above described as lying on the quadruple boundary of four independent States of Rajputana. It had been from time immemorial occupied by a tribe of Meenas (Purihar) who, through their indomitable personal character and favoured by the advantages of the strategic position they had taken up, had always maintained themselves in a state of lawless independence. Although no native travellers could pass through the Khirar without paying heavy black-mail, still as no main line of British communications led through the tract, little notice was taken by the British authorities of their depredations until the year 1854, when, emboldened by long impunity, the Meenas deliberately marked out the flourishing British district of Ajmere as the field of their operations. Raids in force were successively made, the country was ravaged, walled towns were attacked and pillaged, and in some cases some of the principal inhabitants were carried away by the Meenas to their hill fastnesses and held to ransom. Then the British Lion rose and shook himself. Government awoke to a sense of its responsibilities as Conservator of the Public Peace, and, inclusively, as Collector of the Public Revenue.

Conservator of the Public Peace loquitur.—“These Meenas must be put down. Their depredations have become intolerable. Think of the poor people, how they have suffered by these raids.”

Deputy Commissioner.—“Just so, your Excellency, and two-thirds at least of the year's revenue of the district lost.”

Conservator, P. P.—“Oh ! that's a minor consideration, but we are bound to protect the poor people at all sacrifices.”

Deputy Commissioner.—“Just so, your Excellency ; then perhaps in view of the serious losses the poor people have sustained in the towns as well as in the rural districts, your Excellency would wish the Income-tax remitted, besides the balance of the year's assessment on the land.”

Conservator, P. P.—“Not at all—not at all ! are you mad ? How is the Government to be carried on ? The people must eat less and marry less, and all that—do Malthus in short for a time. (Aside.) Ah ! these Wallahs ! they have no identity of interest with a paternal Government—will not, even themselves, contribute to its necessities without a growl—talk of breach of faith, Parliamentary guarantees, and what not. Verily, India is going to the dogs, or to the bear.”

After one or two futile attempts to check the excesses of the Meenas, the duty of taking them in hand devolved upon Colonel, then Captain Showers, who was invested with full powers. We learn from the records that proceeding in person to Jehazpoor, the centre of the disturbed district, he gathered on the spot that full information of the history of the tribe, the antecedents of their leaders, the inciting causes to their recent excesses and other points essential to the case which enabled him to suggest the measures which have long since effected the tranquillization of the district and the reclaiming of the tribe. Among the steps for this latter object was the raising of a corps which, under its distinguished Commandant, Colonel Macdonald, is, we believe, at this day as fine a native regiment as any in our line. It is not unworthy of note, as constituting a precedent and a guide for future similar emergencies, that from the day that Captain Showers pitched his camp among the Meenas, the raiding then so rife, at once and entirely ceased. They seemed to have an instinctive apprehension that he had come to save and reclaim, as well as to punish—not to destroy ; and they awaited in mingled fear and hope the measures he would adopt.

We may here append the following brief and interesting sketch of the tribe in question, extracted from the Journal of the Asiatic Society, to which Colonel Showers would appear to have contributed it a short time ago :—

‘From time immemorial, Jehazpoor, in the State of Odeypoor, had been a notoriously disturbed district. A brief period of tranquillity

was accorded to it during the early part of the present century by the appalling severity of the measures of the noted minister Zalim Sing, after Jehazpoor fell into the possession of Kotah in 1806. On a robbery being traced to a village, it was surrounded, all the men found in it at once decapitated, and the women compelled to carry the bleeding heads in baskets-full upon their own heads, and walk in procession through the neighbouring villages singing their usual jubilee songs. There are men still living, and I have conversed with them, who have witnessed these grim processions. To guard against the possible recurrence of such fatal surprises, the inhabitants of some of the Meena villages have distributed themselves in detached huts on the surrounding knolls, serving as a chain of watch-towers for mutual security. However revolting the system referred to, it succeeded in effectually checking the excesses of the Meenas during the period that Jehazpoor remained in the possession of Kotah. A gold bangle might drop off a woman's ankle (so an ancient of those days illustrated the fact), and there it would lie till the drift sand covered it; for woe to the village to which the bangle might be traced. On the restitution of the district, however, to Meywar in 1819, it soon relapsed into its former disturbed condition. Jehazpoor was in truth a position well chosen for the lawless occupation of professional marauders, being a strong, hilly and jungly country where the boundaries of four foreign jurisdictions meet, *viz* Meywar, Boondee, Jeypoor, and Ajmeer.

There are twelve tribes of Meenas in Central India, but the one under notice is called the Purihar tribe. These are descendants of the Purihars who were the dominant race in Marwar, till dispossessed of their ancient capital (Mundore) by the Rhatores towards the close of the 14th century. Though defeated, the tribe would appear not of have succumbed to the new rule, as there are no descendants of them, I believe, to be found in Marwar at the present day, but emigrating they got possession, subsequently, it would appear, of Bagherah in the present Ajmere Istimraree and contiguous to some of their present haunts. This their genealogists represent to have been in the second generation from Nath Rao, the last Mundore Prince, with whom his dynasty perished. In a generation or two afterwards, they are found in the Chronicles lurking on the quadruple boundary above indicated, a race of outcastes without a common head, and such they have continued ever since, "their hand against every man and every man's hand against them;" plundering in gangs and joining any of the great marauding movements that have from time to time been organized under noted leaders. Thus, in 1847, some of the boldest of the outlawed Thakur Jawahir Singh's followers were these Meenas. The same indomitable spirit which carried the Purihars forth out of the land of their lost dominion seems to have maintained them in a state of wild independence throughout the long interval since; for though nominally owing allegiance to the States upon the verge of whose territories respectively it has suited their purposes to locate themselves in *fallahs* or gangs, to increase probably their chances of evading pursuit by enlisting in their favour the national jealousies of the

Rajpoot States, yet fortified by traditions of former ascendancy, they have never really succumbed to any Power, but hanging together as one man, have always united to repel the frequent futile attempts that have been made from time to time by the rulers of States individually to coerce any of their Meena subjects, so called. The aggregate of male adults in the tribe is about 24,000; of this number about 10,000, distributed in 200 villages, are located along these border tracts

Individually, the men are brave to desperation, athletic and hardy, many of them tall with fine countenances, denoting their superior origin. Similarly as the Purihar has no resemblance to the aboriginal Bheel, Mair, Kole, or low caste Meena of the Aravulla, so he has nothing in common with these races but their lawlessness. He will neither eat, smoke, nor intermarry with them; that is to say, the Purihar will not give a daughter in marriage, though he will take to his bed as many daughters of inferior tribes as he can support. Their pride of birth indeed is excessive, fostered by traditions ascending beyond the bounds of history to the region of myth, till they arrive at the celestial origin of the Purihars on the occasion of the creation of the four warrior races on the holy Mount Aboo. The genealogist of the tribe is the honoured guest in every village he visits in his annual round. Each family engages his company for one entire day, which is occupied in recording in the ponderous MS. volume the recent additions to the family tree whether in the male or female branch; for even the ancestry of the women is duly recorded. It is easy to understand the effect of this cherished pride of birth in supporting their indomitable spirit. About half the tribe are armed with matchlocks of a superior manufacture, about half with the bow, and all with the katar, or double-hilted dagger, which is a weapon they peculiarly affect. It is never detached from their person for a moment, waking or sleeping. Free from the ordinary prejudices of caste, the Purihars are great eaters of meat which their cattle-lifting raids furnish in profusion, and drinkers of spirits which serve to increase their natural ferocity. All are married, and many, besides, take in keeping the widows of their deceased clansmen to the number of two or three each, or otherwise domicile women forcibly abducted in their raids. Thus the villages have become greatly over-populated as regards the possibility of finding support from the village lands. Collectively, the most noteworthy circumstance perhaps relating to the tribe, was their utter ignorance up to the day of my arrival among them of the true character of the British Government as the paramount power. If any other proof of this were needed than that then so recently afforded by their having deliberately marked out the prosperous British district of Ajmere as the field of their repeated inroads, it would be found in the record of their systematic obstruction to the officers of our Government in the prosecution of their duty when it happened to lead them to the vicinity of the Meena villages.

Their raids into the British provinces brought matters to a crisis, and it was necessary to put them down. But in contrast with the

unfortunate contests with savage races which are going on at the present day in other parts of the world, it may not be unworthy to note that the tranquillization of Jehazpoor was effected without a shot being fired.'

The last instance we would cite of the reclaiming of an entire tribe, but which, in chronological order, should have been mentioned after that of the Kandeish Bheels, has reference to the Mhairs of Mhairwarra described in Colonel Dixon's work which we have named at the head of our article. Mhairwarra, being that tract of the Aravalli Mountains intercepted between the plains of Meywar on the one side, and of Marwar on the other, had been the secure retreat for the lawless characters from both sides. The plan of abstracting the wild spirits of the tribe and forming them into a corps, was here again pursued, the residue being settled down to agriculture. We would refer the reader to Colonel Dixon's admirable work for the interesting details of the reclaiming of this race and training them to military service, and may only here advert to one conclusive proof of success on both points in the fidelity and discipline evinced by a detachment of the corps on the outbreak of the mutiny at Nusserabad in 1857. The arsenal at the neighbouring station of Ajmere being about to be occupied by the guards of one of the mutineer Native Infantry regiments, the detachment of the Mhairwarran battalion in question, under its able Commandant, Captain Cornell, made a forced march and seized the arsenal just in time to save it from falling into the hands of the mutineer regiment.

The foregoing examples by no means exhaust the instances that might be cited in illustration of our views, but they may suffice for the general reflections which we have to offer on the subject. Before submitting these, however, we will advert to but one other class of cases which will serve to illustrate more fully our position. It is that of occasional, but deliberately planned, combinations of individual members of several predatory tribes assembled under some noted leader for special enterprises. And it is worthy of remark that some of the most noted of such leaders have not themselves been members of a predatory tribe at all. The operations of this heterogeneous class of wild tribes has always been found more troublesome to the general peace of the country, because more extended in their scope, than the isolated excesses of homogeneous tribes having "a local habitation and a name." Thus some years ago, hardly a *kafila*, or rich despatch of merchandize, or wealthy marriage procession, could pass through Central India or Rajputana without an attack on them being planned, only to be averted by either paying heavy black-mail, or engaging powerful escorts. The district of Bujrunggurh, below Goonah, on the Bombay road, was one of bad notoriety for such dacoities,

favoured as the attacks of the robbers were by the hilly and jungly character of the country through which the road then defiled. The proceedings in several cases tried by Captain Showers at the Ajmere Sessions of 1849-50, revealed an extraordinary system of organized dacoity or gang-robbery ; the suppression of which in a great measure since that time is greatly to the credit of the Thuggy and Dacoity Department of Rajputana under its present able and energetic head.

But not only for objects of plunder have such heterogeneous gatherings of wild tribes been always originally assembled, although, if holding together for any time, their operations have invariably degenerated into promiscuous plundering, probably from the necessity of recruiting their resources. Political malcontents of every shade of grievance, if becoming *harwuttia*, or self-expatriated, and possessing the proper qualities for a leader, have seldom failed to get a large and sometimes formidable following. The most troublesome perhaps of any such movements with which the organized Government in India has ever been confronted, was the great marauder system organized and led in the years 1846-47 by the outlawed Chief Thakoor Jawahir Singh, of Seekur, in Shikhawatee. The formidable character of the movement may be inferred from the exploits of the band, even against the British power ; first, in the forcible rescue of one of their imprisoned comrades from the Central Jail at Agra, then the capital of the Government of the North-Western Provinces and a large military station ; and next, in the attack and successful plunder in open day of the Government treasury in the military station of Nusserabad. The Supreme Government had decided upon the suppression of this formidable movement by military operations on an extended scale, and troops had already been set in motion, when the projected campaign by regulars was overruled by the Agent of the Governor-General in Rajputana, Colonel Sutherland, as impracticable in a desert country. He would appear to have considered it essential, moreover to the future tranquillity of the country that the movement in question should be suppressed, if possible, by the unaided forces of the Native States, within whose territories the marauders had so long found refuge. In accordance with this view the proposed operations by these forces would appear to have been placed in the hands of Colonel, then Lieutenant Showers, who was accredited with full powers to the States for the prosecution of the duty. We have not the details of his operations before us, but may state the result to illustrate our position. Lieutenant Showers having carried the pursuit of the marauder band into the heart of the Great Western Desert, came up with them in their remote and supposed inaccessible retreat, and attacked, defeated and captured the Chief Jawahir Singh, with several of his principal followers ; and

thereupon, with the loss of its head, the entire movement dissolved. Some of the minor leaders were subsequently apprehended as fugitives in disguise, and the last of them, at the head of the remnant of the band, surrendered finally at discretion. Thus tranquillity was restored to the country, and the honour of Government vindicated without the necessity of a campaign by regulars which, to be conducted in a desert, must at all events have been costly and harrassing, and the result under the circumstances obviously doubtful.

From the foregoing politico-historical sketch of the relations of the British Government with the wild tribes of India, we may deduce some valuable principles, not only for the management of such tribes wherever on the earth's surface they may be found, but for the government of subject races generally, as these principles would appear to be of universal application. The first thing that comes out prominently in the proceedings of the able administrators whose labours we have been reviewing, is their recognition of a dominant element in every tribe, to the leading influence of which all the rest are entirely subordinate and submissive. And may not this be predicted generally of all communities? The paramount influence of the few over the many, is no new thing. It arises in the very constitution of our nature and the action of communities of men in this respect is aptly illustrated by the example of a flock of sheep jumping just where the bell-wether jumped, fence or no fence. Nearly a century and a half ago Balingbroke wrote on this head :—"It seems to me that the Author of nature has thought fit to mingle, from time to time, among the societies of men, a few and but a few of those on whom he is graciously pleased to bestow a larger proportion of the ethereal spirit than is given in the ordinary course of his providence to the sons of men. * * * They either appear like ministers of divine vengeance, and their course through the world is marked by desolation and oppression, by poverty and servitude; or they are the guardian angels of the country they inhabit, busy to avert even the most distant evil, and to maintain or to procure peace, plenty, and the greatest of human blessings and liberty." If the influence of the few over the many, then, be, as we see, a matter of universal observation, with how peculiar a force must it not apply to rude races existing under feudal or patriarchal forms, the usages or superstitions of which vindicate blind obedience to one or a few. Accordingly we have seen in the examples above adduced, that the first step in the reclaiming of a turbulent and troublesome tribe, was to eliminate the small dominant element in question by finding congenial employment for the leaders. Hence arose the several corps of

aborigines whose progress we have traced from heterogeneous masses of individual plundering savages to those organized bodies whose discipline, fidelity and honesty have proved, as we have seen, so serviceable to the British Government at critical conjunctures. Here then we see that when once you have abstracted the leading disorderly element from a tribe and found for it congenial employment, you are on the high road to the reclaiming of the whole tribe; for the residue, deprived of their natural leaders, are powerless for mischief, and perforce subside into peaceable subjects. Thenceforward Time works for you. You have uprooted the tree of disorder and have planted the tree of order; and year by year habits of order and industry become engrafted on the race as a second nature, in displacement of the habits of disorder and dissipation which formed their original nature.

But now the question occurs—On what intelligible ground did these Indian administrators base their calculations of success in such apparently hopeless experiments to make “the Ethiopian change his skin, and the leopard his spots?” Here then, in answer, we are initiated into the second leading principle which has actuated them, and underlay all their efforts—the recognition, *viz.*, of a human element existing in the nature of men, the lowest and most degraded of such races—that, albeit apparently but little above the brutes that perish, they were still men with human capacities, human motives, redundant energies. Recognising the trust that crime is but energy misdirected, it was considered that if the motives impelling to a lawless life were withdrawn, and incentives to an honest life substituted, a change for the better might gradually be brought about. The officers concerned were encouraged in their efforts in this direction by a consideration of the fact that the men individually were not demoralized by their lawless course of life. The proofs of this afforded by the examples we have adduced, rested on an *a priori* presumption of success, in view of the Philosopher Coleridge’s dictum that the effect of an action upon the doer will be in exact correspondence with the estimation in which such an action is held among the class to which he belongs. Now, robbery, or justifiable homicide, according to the peculiar notions obtaining among wild tribes is not regarded as shameful. Consequently the integrity of the individual character in the doer of such actions, is not affected. Recurring, then, in conclusion to the success of the Government of India in the reclaiming of its wild tribes, illustrated by the examples which we have grouped under review, we may trace it in a word to the recognition by its officers of the ennobling sentiment expressed by Burns in his immortal couplet, changing but a word :—

Culture is but the guinea’s stamp,
The Man’s the gowd for a’ that.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—BUDDHISM AND THE SANKHYA PHILOSOPHY.

1. *A Lecture on Hindu Philosophy.* By Babu Rajkrishna Mukarjya, M.A. Calcutta. 1870.
2. *Sāṅkhya Aphorisms of Kapila.* By J. R. Ballantyne, LL.D. Calcutta. 1865.
3. *Chips from a German Workshop.* By Max Müller, M.A. Vol. I. London. 1867.
4. *Le Bouddha et sa Religion.* Par J. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Membre de l'Institut. Paris. 1860.

M. BARTHELEMY ST. HILAIRE, and other writers on Buddhism, have endeavoured to show that the metaphysical doctrines of Buddha were borrowed from the earlier systems of Brahmanical philosophy, and in particular from the Sāṅkhya. This opinion has been rejected by no less an authority than Professor Max Müller; who, while admitting that any relation that can be established between the Sāṅkhya and the Buddhist philosophy would be invaluable in determining the real chronology of the philosophical literature of India, doubts that any such relation exists.* Its existence is indeed of such importance to the student of Indian history, and it has been called in question by so high an authority, that we make no apology for entering into an enquiry as to the reality and nature of this relation between the two systems.

Before we proceed to discuss any community of doctrines between a system of philosophy and a system of theology, it may be well to remind the general reader of the constant association which obtains in India between theological beliefs and philosophical speculations. Professor Max Müller himself, than whom no one can be more competent to pronounce on the question, doubts whether the founder of the Buddhist religion cared much about philosophical speculations.† But in India the relation between theology and philosophy has always been peculiar. In

* "Chips from a German Workshop." Vol. I, p. 220.

† *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 234.

other countries, popular systems of religious belief have rarely borrowed their theological tenets from the abstruse teachings of philosophers; but in India religious dogmas have produced systems of philosophy, and systems of philosophy have in their turn given birth to religious dogmas. There was scarcely a single system of religious doctrine in India, which had not its cognate system of speculative philosophy attached to it; nor many systems of philosophy which did not form the source of the religious doctrines of particular sects. The special mission of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy was to explain the Vedas; the special object of the Vedānta to elaborate the Pantheistic conception of the Deity to be found in them. The eclecticism of the *Bhagavadgītā* modifies largely, even to this day, the religious convictions of the more educated classes of orthodox Hindús. The teaching of Chaitanya was the ultimate product of an union between the Vaiṣṇavism of Rāmānuja and S'āṇḍilya's doctrine of faith. Who shall say that Tantrikism itself is not the result of an alliance between the Pauranic religion on the one hand, and of the Mysticism of the Yoga philosophy and the sensualism of Chárváka on the other?

The Sāṅkhya, like most other systems of Indian philosophy, has its own theology and its own cosmogony. And the Sāṅkhya philosophy illustrates in a special manner the disastrous consequences of this mutual affiliation between religion and philosophy. Those consequences must in every case be, that philosophy moving within the narrow circles of orthodoxy, would develop into systems of error; and the errors of national and sectarian creeds, which would otherwise die out of their own rottenness, would receive strength and life from the subtle and illusory arguments of philosophy. This mischievous tendency of an alliance between religion and philosophy, was never so conspicuous as in the case of the Sāṅkhya. The Sāṅkhya is remarkably sceptical in its tendency; many antiquated or contemporaneous errors were swept away by its merciless logic. Carried to its legitimate consequences, a wise scepticism might have contributed to the lasting benefit of Hindú progress. And yet the Sāṅkhya is as great a mass of errors as any other branch of Hindú philosophy—even inferior, perhaps, to the Nyáya and Vais'eshika in intrinsic worth. This was the result of its uniform display of a tendency to support the authority of the Vedas. God himself could be denied, but not the authority of the Vedas. There is every reason to believe that this veneration for the Vedas was by no means a very sincere feeling with the sceptical philosopher; but whether that feeling was sincere or hollow, the authority of the Vedas appears to have set the limits beyond which thought was not allowed to range. Only in one instance, about to be mentioned, were even the Vedas set at nought; but Kapila could go no further.

That is what Sākyasinha did. He took the step from which Kapila had recoiled. He denied the authority of the Vedas ; and with it, caste, sacrifice, superstition, priesthood—whatever in fact had flourished so gaily under the shadow of its greatness. His success was great.

The doctrines which have in particular been supposed to be common to the Sāṅkhya and to Buddhism are, the rejection of all belief in the existence of God, and emancipation by the cessation of pain—the *mukti* of the Sāṅkhya and the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddhists. There is no question about the atheism of the Buddhists. Professor Max Müller himself has contributed to settle that point. But the atheism of the Sāṅkhya is still an open question. We make no apology, therefore, for dwelling at some length on the Sāṅkhya doctrines about the existence of God.

It is probably generally known that the name Sāṅkhya is given to two cognate systems of philosophy, to the Yoga system of Patanjali as well as to the system attributed to Kapila. The latter is the Sāṅkhya properly so called, and it is of the latter alone that we speak. Kapila's system is generally known as *Nirīś'wara*, or "atheistic," and is thus distinguished from the *Ses'wara* Sāṅkhya of Patanjali. But the atheism of Kapila's Sāṅkhya has been doubted not by Professor Max Müller alone, but by other scholars of eminence, Hindú as well as European. Among the former may be mentioned *Udayana A'chārya*, the author of *Kusumāñjali*, who describes the Sāṅkhya philosophers as worshippers of the *A'di-Vidvān*, (First Wise).* Among the latter may be mentioned (in addition to Professor Max Müller) Dr. F. E. Hall, who, like him, takes up the cause of Sāṅkhya Theism against Colebrooke and M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire.†

A third class of critics, is represented by Vijnāna Bikshu ; who, himself an eminent Sāṅkhya philosopher, and the commentator on the *Sāṅkhya Pravachana*, holds that Kapila by merely denying that the existence of God can be *proved*, never intended actually to deny that existence itself.‡ I's'wara Krishna, one of the most eminent names in Sāṅkhya philosophy, is wholly silent on the subject of the existence of God.

There are grounds for this diversity of opinion ; and in order to show what the Sāṅkhya conception of I's'wara really was, we proceed to analyze the opinions of the *Sāṅkhya Pravachana* on the subject. The *Sāṅkhya Pravachana* alone, and not any later work, can throw any light on the original conception, which appears to

* Kusumāñjali, I, 3.

† Preface to Sāṅkhya Sāra, note, pp. 1, 2.

‡ See his Commentary on Aphorism 92, Book I. Ballantyne's Translation, p. 36.

194 *Buddhism and the Sankhya Philosophy.*

have been gradually overshadowed by the Pauranic element in the belief of Kapila's followers.*

The Aphorisms broadly assert that the existence of God cannot be proved.† Thereupon Max Müller remarks, "Kapila is accused of denying the existence of I's'wara, which in general means the 'Lord,' but which in the passage where it occurs, refers to the I's'wara of the Yogins, or mystic philosophers. They maintained that in an ecstatic state man possesses the power of seeing God face to face, and they wished to have this ecstatic intuition included under the head of sensuous perceptions. To this Kapila demurred, 'you have not proved the existence of your Lord, and therefore I see no reason why I should alter my definition of sensuous perceptions in order to accommodate your ecstatic visions.'"[‡]

Now it is not correct to say that Kapila's celebrated Aphorism refers to the I's'wara of the Yogins, as distinguished from the God of other sects or systems. The two preceding Aphorisms do indeed refer to the *perceptions* of the Yogins, as distinguished from ordinary perception, but there is no reference whatever anywhere to the Yoga conception of I's'wara as distinguished from ordinary conceptions of him. Kapila defines perception to be "the knowledge which portrays the form of that which is in conjunction" or as Dr. Ballantyne rather incorrectly translates it, "that discernment which being in conjunction, portrays the form."[§] Now, it was evident that the Yogins might cavil at this definition as imperfect, for it did not embrace their mystic perceptions. Objects not in conjunction with the organs of perception were, it was supposed, perceived by them. Accordingly in the next Aphorism he defends his definition, on the ground that the mystic perception was not an external perception (*abājhyam*), and that therefore his definition could not be expected to apply to it; and in the next succeeding Aphorism he takes another view, and contends that his definition may be so interpreted as even to include the internal perception. It will be seen that Kapila accepts the reality of the Mystics' internal perceptions, and so far was he from implying that "he saw no reason why he should alter his definition to accommodate their ecstatic visions,"

* Dr. Hall surmises that the *Sāṅkhya Pravachana* (the Aphorisms of Kapila) is a modern production, and is indebted to the *Kārikās* of I's'wara Krishna (Preface to *Sāṅkhya Sāra*, pp. 8 to 12.) Among his reasons, one is that there is a great similarity between the *Kārikās* and the Aphorisms. Why is not that a reason for inferring that the *Kārikās* are in-

debted to the Aphorisms? There is at least tradition on this side, while there is nothing on the other.

† "*I's'warasiddheh*," Book I. 92.

‡ Chips from a German Workshop, Vol. I, p. 228.

§ The Aphorism is as follows—
"*Yat sambaddham sat tadākārōl-*
khi Vijnānāmatat pratyaksham. (89, Book I.)

he was actually at great pains to do so.* And his definition with the restriction in Aphorism 90, and the interpretation in Aphorism 91, stood in no need of a denial of a Lord if his existence was believed in. Direct perception of him by the Mystic would be an internal cognition (*abājhyam*), and therefore not intended to be included in the definition. Or if you insist on internal perception being included within the definition, you have only to understand "conjunction" in the sense given to it in Aphorism 91, and the Yogins' perception of the Lord would be found included. If Kapila had intended to evade, the objection founded on mystical perception, he would have said that he would not alter his definition, not because the existence of the Mystic's Lord was not proved, but because the reality of the Mystic's perception was not proved. Admitting the perception, he gains nothing by denying only *one* of its objects.

But the fact is, that it is neither to the Yogins' I's'wara, nor to the Yogins' perception, that the passage in which the denial of God occurs, (92 Book I) has any reference. It refers to I's'wara's *own perceptions*. As, according to the definition, perception results from conjunction of object with sense, the definition cannot by any stretch of meaning be held to apply to perception by God himself; as, supposing him to exist, his perceptions must be from eternity, and what exists from eternity cannot be the result of any *conjunction*. This is the objection which Kapila anticipates by denying the existence of God in general, without any reference to the Yogins' I's'wara, or to any special conception of the divine nature. We should have certainly hesitated to charge Professor Max Müller with a mistake of this nature, had we not on our side an authority certainly able to hold his own against the Professor on matters relating to Sāṅkhya philosophy. We mean Vijnāna Bhikshu, whose *Bhāṣya* on the Aphorism doubtless settles the point.†

Granted, however, that this particular passage has reference to the I's'wara of the Yogins—how are the Aphorisms 2-12 in Book V. to be accounted for? In these Kapila, or whoever else was the author of the Aphorisms, proceeds to show that the supposition of a God is philosophically unnecessary; that to postulate a Creator and a Moral Governor of the Universe would be to postulate an absurdity; and that you cannot prove His existence in any way. Then he actually proceeds to prove his non-existence. In these passages there is not the slightest allusion from which it can be

* The Aphorisms themselves contain a direct acknowledgment of the supernatural power of the Yogins. The 118th Aphorism of the fifth Book

is devoted to its glorification.

† Ballantyne's Aphorisms of Kapila, p. 36.

196 *Buddhism and the Sankhya Philosophy.*

inferred that they have any special reference to the I's'wara of the Yogins. The arguments used here as well as in 93-95 Bk. I., have no special application to the Yoga conception ; and have the same force, if they have any force at all, against every theistic conception known in India. We must make good what we say by reproducing here the arguments themselves.

The existence of God, he says "is not established, because there is no proof of it"—*pramānābhāvāt na tat siddhi* (10, Bk. V.). "It cannot be *inferred*, because there is no Relation."—*Sambandhābhāvāt nānumānam* (11, Bk. V.). According to the Srutis, Nature creates ; *Srutirapi Pradhānakāryatvasya* (12, Bk. V.).

In this condensed aphoristic form, these arguments will not be intelligible here. Developed into their proper length, they are as follows:—The Sāṅkhya admits three kinds of evidence or instruments of knowledge, *viz.*, Perception, Inference, and the Testimony of the Vedas. Direct perception of God, of course there is none. Inference fails, as an inference can be made only where an invariable relation has been established ; but no invariable relation between a God and anything else from which you can infer His existence has ever been established. Lastly, the Vedas themselves assert that creation proceeds from nature, and do not therefore countenance the supposition of a God.

This, it may be said, is simply denying that the existence of a God can be proved, and does not amount to denying that God exists. This is what in effect both Max Müller and Vijnāna Bhikshu say—Max Müller quotes Vijnāna Bhikshu on the point. "The Commentator," he says, "narrates that this strong language was used by Kapila in order to silence the wild talk of the Mystics, and that though he taunted his adversaries with having failed to prove the existence of their Lord, he himself did not deny the existence of a Supreme Being."* This, however, is not exactly what Vijnāna Bhikshu says—the idea of the Aphorism being meant to taunt opponents with having failed to prove the existence of *their* Lord, is Max Müller's, not Vijnāna Bhikshu's. This is what the latter says—"But observe that this demurring to their being any Lord, is merely *in accordance* with the arrogant doctrine of certain *partisans* who held an opinion not recognised by the majority ; therefore it is to be understood, the expression employed is, because it is not *proved* that there is a Lord, but not the expression that there is *no* Lord."†

This is intelligible in Vijnāna Bhikshu, who is a Paurāṇic, and who has spared no pains to make the Sāṅkhya philosophy

* Chips from a German Workshop, Vol. I, p. 228. The use of the phrase "Supreme Being," in discussing the Atheism of the Sāṅkhya, is objectionable and leads to confusion. The

Sāṅkhya admits a Supreme Being who, however, is not God, as we shall show.

† See Ballantyne's Aphorisms of Kapila, p. 36.

Buddhism and the Sankhya Philosophy. 197

serve as a foundation for Paurānic mythology.* The very same thing was once said of Comte by one of his followers. But we submit that the denial of the fact that there exists proof of any particular essence, amounts in every way, for all philosophical purposes, to a denial of the existence of that essence.

For, except in the case of impossible conceptions, as that of a round square, the denial of the existence of the proof is the utmost that can be urged by a philosopher against any conception which is rejected. There is nothing more which can be said against the wildest conceptions ever hatched by the human brain. You can say nothing more, if you wish to be logically correct, against the most extravagant conceptions of the Hindú mythology. The whole world united cannot advance any *philosophical* argument (we do not speak of theological arguments) against the existence of such a fabulous Being as Indra, or Vishnu, which is not ultimately resolvable into a negation of proof. But is that a reason for maintaining that the whole world has an orthodox belief in the existence of Indra or Vishnu? Indeed, on this view of the case, there has never been an atheistic system in the world; for no system, not even the Chárvákas whose atheism probably neither Vijnána Bhikshu nor Professor Max Müller would deny, ever went further than to assert that the existence of God cannot be proved.†

If ever any philosophical system ventured further than this, that system was the Sankhya. It not only denies that the existence of God can be proved, but asserts that he can *not* exist; that the conception of God as Creator, is an impossible conception. (Aphorisms 93 and 94, Book I.) The arguments in these two Aphorisms are thus paraphrased by Professor Max Müller himself. I's'wara, "is either absolute and unconditioned, (*mukta*), or he is bound and conditioned (*baddha*). If he is absolute and unconditioned, he cannot enter into the condition of Creator; he would have no desires which could instigate him to create. If, on the contrary, he is represented as active, and entering on the work of creation, he would no longer be the absolute and unchangeable Being which we are asked to believe in."‡ Max Müller holds that Kapila argues thus in regard to the "Supreme Lord of the Mystics." But neither text nor commentaries furnish the slightest reason for supposing that the argument is not directed against the conception of I's'wara in general; nor is there anything in the nature of the argument itself to authorise such a restricted interpretation of its applicability.

* Vide his Commentary on Aphorism 66 Book VI, Ballantyne's Aphorisms of Kapila, p. 173.

† We of course do not deny that people may assert that the existence of God cannot be proved on rational

grounds, but may yet believe in Him through Revelation. But Kapila, we have seen, denies that even Revelation proves his existence.

‡ Chips from a German Workshop, Vol. I, p. 229.

198 *Buddhism and the Sankhya Philosophy.*

It can certainly be predicated of God as conceived by any believer in the world that he must be either bound or not bound, either conditioned or not conditioned. If so, why should we consider the argument as directed against the conception of a single sect only, when there is nothing in the text to authorise our doing so? And why should Kapila have used arguments of general applicability, if he wished to demolish the conceptions of a particular sect only?

Having thus disposed of the supposition of a God as Creator, the Sāṅkhya philosopher proceeds to disprove the existence of God as a Moral Governor (Aphorisms 2 and 3, Book V). The argument fully developed, runs thus:—You assume a Moral Governor, only because men's actions must be rewarded or punished. You see men rewarded or punished for their actions, and you suppose that there is a God who rewards or punishes. You must admit that he can punish or reward only either according to the merit of the actions, or not according to the merit of the actions. If you suppose Him to reward and punish according to the acts, why can you not presume the *acts* themselves to be the cause of the reward and punishment which you see? There is no purpose which the supposition of a God as cause of rewards and punishments would answer, and which the supposition of acts as such a cause in themselves cannot answer. In supposing a Moral Governor, you therefore make an unnecessary supposition, which is a philosophical error. But if, on the other hand, you suppose that God does *not* punish according to desert, your God is an unjust Being, and therefore a selfish Being. He is a selfish Being, because a Governor who is not just, does not govern for the benefit of the governed; and a Governor, who does not govern for the benefit of the governed, must govern for his own benefit. And more in the same strain.

Having thus not only denied that God exists, but denied that he can exist, it remained for the atheistic philosopher to reconcile this heterodox doctrine with his orthodox belief in the Scriptures. This he does with surprising audacity. It has been seen that he goes to the length of asserting that there is no text in the Vedic Scriptures inculcating the existence of a God, (V. 12). Nothing could be more audacious, as there is scarcely anything in the Vedas which is more strongly or more frequently inculcated. These texts must therefore be explained away, or Atheism given up; and Kapila adopts the former alternative. He explains away the texts by saying, that those which make mention of a God are either glorifications of the liberated soul, or homages to popular gods.

Professor Max Müller lays indeed great stress on this orthodox maintenance of the authority of the Vedas. "Kapila,"

he says, "like the preacher of our own days,* was accused of Atheism, but his philosophy was nevertheless admitted as orthodox, because in addition to sensuous perception and inductive reasoning, Kapila professed emphatically his belief in Revelation, *i.e.*, in the Veda, and allowed to it a place among the recognised instruments of knowledge." Kapila was admitted to be orthodox, because orthodoxy among the Hindús consisted in maintaining the authority of the Vedas, apart from all belief in God, or in the Vedic gods. Belief in God did not necessarily follow from such an orthodoxy, as Kapila himself contends.† But we admit that this veneration for the Vedas is a most curious feature in the Sankhya philosophy. It is perhaps the only system of belief known in the world which accepts a Revelation and rejects a God ; and this orthodoxy, therefore, deserves a more detailed examination.

There is no question that the Sankhya upholds the authority of the Vedas. It is frequently cited as conclusively settling disputed points. It is invoked to demolish even the belief in a God. Testimony seems to have been erected into an independent instrument of knowledge, distinct from inference, for no other visible reason than for maintaining intact the authority of the Vedas. Yet one may well feel inclined to doubt, whether all this veneration for the Vedas was sincere, at least whether it was so in the first teachers of the system. The authority of the Vedas is unhesitatingly appealed to whenever an opponent has to be silenced, or a favourite dogma to be established ; and when texts are convenient for the purpose. When Vedic texts tell on the other side, they are explained away. Finally, the exposition to be found in the Aphorisms, of the grounds on which the Vedas are to be held infallible, is one of the most remarkable instances on record of the absurdities into which an acute and vigorous intellect is driven when forced to fight for an hypothesis which is seen by the advocate to be untenable. It is as follows :—

The Sankhya denies that the Vedas are the work of a Divine author, for it denies the existence of a God.‡ It denies too that they are the work of *any* author, for this curious reason ; if they had any author, he must be either emancipated or unemancipated. If emancipated, he would be without motive for the work ; for he is free from all affections. If unemancipated, he would be wanting in the power and knowledge necessary for the production of such perfect works.§ They are therefore nobody's work. If they are nobody's work, they must be self-existent and eternal, as *no other* supposition

* A well-known Bampton Lecturer.

† 46 Book V.

† *Vide supra* ; also Aphorism 95,

§ 47 Book V.

Book I.

is possible. But even this is denied, because they themselves contain texts for their being productions.* Thus having very satisfactorily demonstrated that the Vedas are neither self-existent nor were called into existence by any one, the author quietly drops the matter, leaving his students to account in the best way they can for the existence of the Vedas. So acute a logician as the author of the Aphorisms could hardly have thought that he escaped the dilemma by saying that the knowledge of the Vedas is traditional. (43 Book V.)

This criticism was undoubtedly eminently destructive of the very authority, the infallibility of which it was proposed to establish. Yet the critic doubtless felt that some reasons must be assigned for considering that as an authority which conclusively settles for him so many disputed points in his system. Accordingly he assigns a reason. He holds that the Vedas contain evidence of their own authority; it consists in the right knowledge they impart (51 Book V), thus leaving a door open for the utter rejection of the authority of the Vedas by any one who impeached the correctness of that knowledge.

Such are the theological doctrines of a system to which Buddhism stands, as M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire and others hold, in the obvious relation of offspring to parent. The real or pretended reverence for the Vedas, which the Sāṅkhya displayed, whilst mercilessly striking at the root of their authority, was cast off by the Buddhists who accepted the logic, but rejected the conclusion. But it may appear inexplicable, that, if the Atheism of the Sāṅkhya was so pronounced, so many profound scholars should fall into the mistake of accounting it a theistic philosophy. Whence did Udayana A'chārya get his *A'di vidvān* of the Sāṅkhya?—and why should so great an authority as Professor Max Müller take upon himself to say, that the Sāṅkhya, like all other systems of Brahmanical philosophy, “admits in some form or other the existence of an Absolute and Supreme Being, the source of all that exists or seems to exist?”† The answer will be found in Aphorisms 56 and 57, Book III. They are as follows:—

LVI. *Sa hi sarbabhit, sarba-kartā.* (He is All-wise and All-powerful).

LVII. *“Idris'es'wara siddhiḥ siddhā.”* (The existence of such a God is settled.)

But in reality these Aphorisms do not admit the existence of a God. These two Aphorisms simply refer to the soul, absorbed into Nature. To understand this, a brief recapitulation of the leading doctrines of the Sāṅkhya philosophy is necessary.

* 45 Book V.

† Chips from a German Workshop, Vol. I, p. 228.

The totality of all material existence, including the intellect and its products, is denominated by the Sāṅkhya, Nature or *Prakṛiti*. All that is not included in it, is Soul (*Puruṣa*). The association of Soul with Nature is the cause of evil. The cessation of pain or evil is the supreme end of the Soul. This is emancipation. This emancipation can be obtained only by learning to discriminate between Nature and Soul. Such discrimination can be arrived at only through knowledge. Any state of existence other than this emancipation through knowledge is to be shunned, as not precluding the recurrence of evil. Even the fabled bliss of heaven is not desirable, as decay and death follow there. Not even is absorption into the Final Cause (Nature) desirable, for there is emergence again out of it. But the Soul which emerges out of Nature, comes out "All-wise and All-powerful." If such a being can be called *Iśwara*, the Sāṅkhya philosopher has no objection to such terminology. But he distinctly stipulates (Aphorism 5, Book V) that the concession is to be regarded as a verbal concession only. There is nothing from which an admission of the existence of an Eternal Being, a Creator and a Governor of the Universe, may be inferred. What is admitted is simply the first Soul emerging out of Nature, which has attained to Infinite Power and knowledge by its previous absorption into Nature, but which is nevertheless uncreative, itself reproduced by Nature, and subject to evil. Such is the Sāṅkhya conception of *Iśwara*. Such a Being is of course not God, nor was ever intended to be recognised as God. Almost all systems of belief which recognise a God, recognise Him as an Eternal Being, the Creator and Ruler of the Universe. No such Being is recognised by the Sāṅkhya. We decline to withhold the charge of Atheism from any system which ignores a Creator and a Moral Governor, and concedes only a supreme *man* uncreating and quiescent, and himself a finite being.

Professor Max Müller asserts, as we have stated, that this Being is, according to the Sāṅkhya, "the source of all, or all that seems to exist." * What we have said will, we hope, be sufficient to convince the reader that the Sāṅkhya holds no such doctrine, and that according to it Nature is the source of all things. If not, we will put here a collection of Aphorisms, which are certainly very emphatic.

Bk. II. Aph. 5.† The character of Creator belongs really to Nature, and is fictitiously attributed to Soul.

Bk. II. Aph. 6.‡ This is proved by Nature's products.

* Chips from a German Work- *śāṅkhya-siddhi*.
shop, Vol. I, p. 228. † *Kāryataṭṭvasiddheh*.
‡ *Prakṛiti vāstave cha puruṣa-*

202 *Buddhism and the Sankhya Philosophy.*

Bk. II. 8.* Even though there be conjunction of Soul with Nature, this power of giving rise to products does not exist in the Soul, just like the burning action of iron.

Bk. I. 74.† Mediatly, the First (Nature) is the cause of all products, like Atoms.

Bk. I. 75.‡ Only two (Nature and Soul) are antecedent to all products. Since Soul is not Creator, Nature must be.

Bk. I. 137.§ Nature's products prove her.

Bk. V. 12.|| There is Scripture for this world being the product of Nature.

Many more texts might be quoted, if that were necessary. To hold, therefore, that the Sankhya attributes the origin of all things to an Absolute and Supreme Being, is, we think, an obvious error.

We have no room to discuss at length the relation of the Buddhist doctrine of Nirvāna to the Sankhya doctrine of Emancipation. Max Müller himself admits that both doctrines emerge from the same starting point. "The complete cessation of three kinds of pain is the highest aim of man," is Kapila's first *sūtra*. But "their roads are so far apart," Max Müller observes, "and their goals change so completely, that it is difficult to understand how, almost by common consent, Buddha is supposed either to have followed in the steps of Kapila, or to have changed Kapila's philosophy into religion." But no one ever thought of asserting a complete identity of doctrine in the two systems. Similarity is not identity, and is often compatible with very wide divergence. A great deal is gained if the same keen sense of the overwhelming burden of human misery, and the same yearning for its cessation as the supreme felicity of man, are found to form the backbone of both doctrines. Nor is the divergence so great as Professor Max Müller seems to think. The Sankhya places the supreme felicity of man in the complete cessation of all Experience.¶ Buddhism only goes a step beyond, and places it in the cessation, not only of all Experience, but of the Experiencer also. In reality there is no difference between these two doctrines; for the cessation of experience, including purely subjective experience, can proceed only from the annihilation of the Sentient Being whose nature is to experience. But we cannot credit these primitive thinkers with having arrived at this result, and we will allow that according to their ideas the difference was great. But whatever the

* *Janyayoge api tatsiddhir nanjasyenāyodāhabat.*

† *A'dya hetutā tadwārāpāramparye apyanubāt.*

‡ *Purva bhābitwe dwayoreka tara sya hāne anyatara yoga.*

§ *Tatkāryatatatsiddher nāpalāpa*

|| *S'rutirapi pradhāna kārya twasya.*

¶ Of all experience, pleasurable as well as painful, for pleasure is variegated by pain; therefore the wise cast it into the scale and reckon it as so much pain,—8, Bk. VI.

difference, it was one only of degree, not of kind ; and does not at all militate against the hypothesis that the one doctrine was derived from the other. So great is the affinity between the two, that the following exposition of the doctrine of Nirvána by Professor Max Müller himself, would accurately describe the Sánkhya doctrine of Emancipation, if only the word "experience" were substituted for "existence." In that substitution is the key to all the difference between the two.

"He (the Buddhist) starts from the idea that the highest object is to escape pain. Life, in his eyes, is nothing but misery ; birth the cause of all evil, from which even death cannot deliver him, because he believes in an eternal cycle of existence, or in transmigration. There is no deliverance from evil, except by breaking through the prison-walls, not only of life, but of existence, and by extirpating the last cause of existence."

We have said what we had to say regarding the existence of similarity between Buddhism and the Sánkhya philosophy. We regret our limits do not permit us to proceed to the examination of the question, whether the existence of this similarity between the two doctrines lead to the inference that Buddhism borrowed its philosophy from Kapila, or to the inference that Kapila based his philosophy on Buddhism. The discussion must be left for another occasion.

ART. II.—RUSSIAN TRADE WITH INDIA.

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AMID the marvellous changes that have contributed to remove the isolation of nations within the last quarter of a century, none has been more remarkable than the *fait accompli* of the Suez Canal. Russia and India, which have been as the poles asunder, are now brought into close proximity. A Russian steamer last March arrived at Bombay from Odessa by the Suez Canal—the first of a line to carry on trade between Russia, China, and India. Let us cast a glance some 25 years back. Russia, ice-bound in her capital for six months in the year, was then cut off from her southern provinces through want of roads and dearness of communication. These provinces seemed scarcely a part of the Empire and were regarded as barren steppes, the fertile parts only of which were visited, and that rarely, by an adventurous traveller. St. Petersburg, with its Gallicised and denationalised landed proprietors, lay as an incubus on the Empire, crushing out all provincial and national development. Direct trade with the East was under these circumstances a vision of the remote future; a beginning had been made at the fair of Nijni Novogorod, where silks from Persia, tea from China, and cotton from Bokhara were the chief oriental staples and sold at greatly enhanced prices; but nothing Indian reached there—how could it? The Amir of Bokhara ruled with all the bigotry and exclusiveness of the head of Islam. Central Asia was given over to anarchy, and to the depredations of the Kirghis, the Pindaris of those regions. On the other hand the Panjáb was Sikh and England's frontier was at Ludhiána; while Russia, in her relations to India, appeared to England as the spectre, gradually but surely moving down for the long meditated invasion of India. Anything Indian could only be procured by Russia through England by a long sea-route, first to London, then after transhipment to St. Petersburg. The Russians who, since the days of Peter the Great, looked forward to trade with India as one of the great measures of the future, one of the triumphs of an Asiatic policy, saw no immediate prospect of realizing it except through a twelve-months' land-journey across a savage desert, where the Cossack must precede the merchant. Even now sea sent from China by the overland route to Nijni Novogorod, takes from ten to twelve months in transit.

But the iron-horse comes on the stage, and the days of India's isolation have fled for ever; the East and West are to be

linked by peaceful bands. The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company led the way ; and Europe was brought into closer connection with India by the overland route. The French Messageries Imperiales next brought France, Germany, and Italy into nearer contact with the East. The last and most important link in the chain is now riveted by the Suez Canal, which, great as it is as a triumph of engineering skill, has effected and is effecting wonders in opening out the Mediterranean trade direct with India, and bringing commerce back to its ancient overland channels. Italy and Germany will share largely in this, and even Holland has just organised a steam fleet *viâ* Suez to Batavia ; the London trade may lose, but the world will be benefited. The opening of the canal brought Italian and Austrian steamers into Indian waters for the first time ; and last, though not least, Russia as the head of the Slavonic race appeared on the scene.

Ever since the days of Peter the Great, and even a century earlier in the reign of Ivan the Great, Russia had anxiously sought a wider opening for its trade with India. The only way, however, lay through Persia and Central Asia—once flourishing countries, but now desolated either by anarchy, or by fanaticism, or by a despotism hostile to trade. Russia, however, was too much absorbed in war with Turkey, Persia, and Poland, to make any progress through those barbarous countries ; and the subject slept for a century. Had the liberal policy of Alexander I. been carried out by his successors, much could have been done towards developing trade in this direction ; but the Emperor Nicolas's rule having been one repressive of all national energy and jealous of contact with foreign countries, commerce languished under a Custom House Tariff which repelled the honest trader and made the fortune of smugglers. Still the Emperor Nicolas was a great admirer of English merchants in Russia. When the Crimean war broke out and the English Ambassador left St. Petersburg, he called them together and told them to go on as usual, adding, "I will be your Ambassador." He kept his word, and Englishmen were treated with the greatest courtesy in Russia during the war. The English have been in fact the earliest and most successful pioneers among European traders with Russia since the days of Queen Elizabeth, when an English factory was established at Moscow and endowed with considerable privileges by the Russian Government ; however, under Nicolas's highly protective and prohibitive tariff trade languished ; there were no roads, and the south of Russia was in consequence completely isolated from the north. The Crimean war came like a hurricane, inflicting immense damage on both parties ; but it roused Russia from its torpor and pointed out that the enormous colossus of despotism could not save the nation. Nicolas died, and with him the days of Russia's isolation were num-

bered. The sun of Russia and its liberator arose in Alexander II. Serf emancipation and social reform came in the programme; internal improvement and external development, the railway system and a reduction of the tariff, followed as consequences.

The Russian high tariff has been a great barrier to trade. The old principle was one prohibitory of all foreign articles likely to compete with those of home production; but in 1857 a move was made from prohibition to protection, and in 1867, M. Von Reuter, the present Minister of Finance, himself a free-trader, brought in a new tariff which has reduced considerably the heavy duties on foreign articles. The Russian Government was driven to this, not only by more liberal principles gradually winning their way, but also by the fearful losses to the revenue caused by smuggling. The Russians now find what the English authorities discovered long ago, that high duties are only a bounty to contraband trade, leading to stagnation in both the revenue and the commerce of the country which imposes them, limiting consumption and encouraging smuggling. One reason why so many Russian families live abroad is the dearness of living in their own country, owing to heavy taxation on what are called luxuries, which to the upper classes are necessities; bread and meat are cheap, but porter costs roubles $1\frac{1}{2}$ for a pint bottle, and cheese Re. 1 a lb.; hence one of the inducements of Russians to travel abroad is to live well and cheaply.

The principles of Cobden, however, are making their way. Von Reuter himself is disposed to favour a policy of free-trade, but the manufacturing interests of Russia battle strongly in favour of protection. A considerable reduction of the tariff has however been made, and just in time, as the trunk railway* lines are approaching their completion, opening out the country in a marvellous way; the Black Sea has been tapped by them, while the Baltic and the Black Sea have been brought within four days of each other. Odessa and St. Petersburg have been bound together by the iron rail; the Levant, Greece and the Mediterranean have been connected with Moscow and Russian trade generally, and thus preparatory steps have been taken for a trade with India. The Russians—the greatest tea drinkers in the world—have been hitherto dependent for the supply of tea on the overland route through Siberia to China—a route involving heavy expense, and a journey of twelve months; this trade of late years has been greatly interfered with by a revolution in Western Mongolia very seriously stopping the supplies. Happily the heavy duty on sea-borne tea had been considerably reduced in 1862, so a large quantity was poured into St. Petersburg through England and

* Three lines of rail are converging on the Volga connecting that river with Western Russia. ing on the Black Sea at Odessa, Sebastopol and Taganrog, and three

got the soubriquet of English tea ; but this was not of much advantage to South Russia, as the harbour of St. Petersburg was ice-bound for six months in the year, and until lately there was no rail.

When the project of the Suez Canal was started, none looked on it with a more watchful eye than Russian statesmen ; they saw at once its important bearings in relation to Russian trade with China and India. Prince Gortschakoff, and General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, directed the attention of Russian merchants to the approaching revolution in the line of trade. The lesson was not lost, and the Society for the Promotion of Russian Trade and Industry requested Mr. Skalkoffsky, one of their members, to assist at the opening of the Suez Canal. He has published a very interesting report on the subject which we shall notice further on.

The Russian Steam Navigation Company which has for some years run its steamers from Odessa to Egypt, having secured a grant of land for their agency at Port Said, found it would be easy to put on additional steamers to ply between Port Said and Bombay, Port Said and Shanghai ; but with that caution which characterises Russians, they first sent M. Baronowsky, formerly Governor of Orenburg, now their head Agent at Messina, together with two other Russian gentlemen, to collect statistics of trade. This duty they performed most laboriously and with success ; in this country they were well received by Lord Mayo, the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and the Chambers of Commerce. Indian trade was languishing, and this was regarded as an important opening for tea, cotton, coffee, and other Indian products. M. Baronowsky on his return held an exhibition of Indian products at St. Petersburg, which attracted considerable attention. It was a great curiosity in the ice-bound foggy capital of Russia to see the products of sunny climes, especially of "distant Ind."

The fruit of M. Baronowsky's mission was soon seen in India itself. The 21st of April 1871 was a day that an ordinary observer in India would say was noted for nothing particular. The public paid no attention to it, and yet on that day occurred an event pregnant with results of deep consequence to the future commercial interests of India,—one of the triumphs of peace and steam ! On that day the last link in the chain, bringing the Slavonic races into connection with the Indian, approximating India and Russia in a pacific channel, was riveted—the *Nachimoff*, a steamer of 3,500 tons burden, belonging to the Russian Steam Navigation Company, left Bombay for Odessa on her first voyage, taking a full cargo of cotton.

It is now twenty-eight years since the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company connected England and India by despatching to Calcutta the first of their magnificent line of

steamers; but the recent event is of a different class. It is the bringing together for the first time two races from two remote parts of the world, and is the crowning success of what seemed to many a few years ago a wild and Utopian vision, the opening out a trade direct between India and Russia, *viâ* Odessa and Bombay, for which twenty-six days will suffice.

The Government of India, anxious to favour such an opening for Indian products in the Russian market, has published in the *Gazette of India*—the official organ—a letter from the Foreign Office, London, dated the 1st of October 1870, relating to the development of commercial relations between Russia and India through the Suez Canal. The English Ambassador at St. Petersburg transmitted in July 1870 a memorandum on the subject drawn up by Mr. Thomas Michell, the English Consul at that city, from statements published in a report to the Society for the Promotion of Russian Trade by Mr. Skalkoffsky, who represented the Society at the opening of the Suez Canal. We will give the substance of this report, which affords safe data on which mercantile men can proceed. Mr. Skalkoffsky points to Odessa* as the port to which the trade of Russia with China, India, &c., will ultimately be attracted by the great advantages of the canal route, being seldom frozen in winter, and soon to be connected by rail with the west of Europe, as it is already with Nijni Novogorod and Central Russia; so that the merchandise of the far East may be transported thence to Moldavia, Wallachia, Galicia, East Prussia, Sweden, and other countries. The advantages of Odessa in respect to distance, he shows as follows:—

<i>From Odessa viâ Suez.</i>		<i>From Southampton round the Cape.</i>	
To Bombay ...	3,948	6,792	Nautical Miles.
„ Point de Galle	4,588	5,912	„
„ Calcutta ...	5,608	6,932	„
„ Singapore ...	6,078	7,402	„
„ Hong-Kong ...	7,508	8,832	„

* The rise of Odessa is one of the most remarkable facts of the day; in 1792, it was a poor Tartar village called Haji Bey. In 1802 its population was 1,800, and now it has a population of 119,000 and bids fair to excel St. Petersburg as a port. As was the case with many other places in Russia, it was a foreigner—the Duc de Richelieu, a French *émigré*—whose plans laid the foundation of its greatness, and they were completed by Prince Woronzof, whose training had been received

in England. Ever since the days of Peter the Great, Russia has known how to avail herself of the foreign element, whether in the organisation of her fleet after the English model under English superintendence, in the development of trade under English merchants in Petersburg and Moscow, or in the utilization of English engineering skill, as at Sebastopol and on the Russian railroads. German professors, on the other hand, have been the great stimulators of Russia's mental energies.

Odessa is nearer to Bombay, than the following European ports, viz :—

Trieste ...	...	... by 152 Nautical miles.
Liverpool ...	...	... 2,060 "
London ...	...	... 2,076 "
Bremen ...	...	... 2,462 "
Cronstadt ...	...	... 3,412 "

Steamers can make the voyage from Odessa to Bombay in the following time, viz :—

	Miles.	Days.
Odessa to Constantinople, with stoppage there	352	
Constantinople to Port Said ...	780	
	<hr/> 1,132	7
Passage of Canal with stoppage	...	3
Suez to Aden ...	1,310	8
Aden to Bombay ...	1,510	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total days ...		26

A steamer will therefore take seven days less in performing the voyage between Odessa and Bombay than between Bombay and Southampton. At the same rate, the time that a steamer will take between Odessa and the more distant ports in India and China, will be as follows :—

	Nautical Miles.	Days.
Odessa to Point de Galle ...	4,588	29
" Calcutta ...	5,608	35
" Singapore ...	6,078	37
" Hong-Kong ...	7,508	43

East Indian cotton shipped at Bombay in sailing vessels reaches Moscow in the following number of days :—

	Days.
Bombay to London ...	110
London to St. Petersburg in steamer	14
St. Petersburg to Moscow	4

Total ... 128 days,

whereas, if shipped to Odessa *via* Suez in a steamer, the time occupied would be only 33 days ; thus :—

	Days.
Bombay to Odessa ...	27
Odessa to Moscow ...	6
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Total ...	33

or a gain of 95 days,

The distances between Odessa and Moscow and St Petersburg by rail are :—

			Stat. Miles.
Odessa to Moscow	...	...	1,045
Odessa to St. Petersburg	...	...	1,447

Mr. Skalkoffsky, in his report to the Russian Commercial Association, makes the following interesting observations respecting the goods of Asiatic origin consumed in Russia :—

COTTON.—Cotton is the most important article of trade between India and Russia. In 1860 Russia imported 228,000 poods of Asiatic cotton ; in 1864 the imports rose to 704,000 poods.* The quantity annually imported on the European frontier of Russia is nearly three million poods (48,000 tons) ; in 1868 a supply of 2½ millions of poods was drawn from the following countries, viz :—

From England	...	...	1,096,130 Poods.
„ Prussia	...	...	1,030,206 „
„ Hanseatic Towns	...	...	52,859 „
„ Austria	...	...	12,737 „
„ Turkey	...	...	2,916 „
„ United States	..	...	115,253 „
„ Roumania	...	...	128 „

The cotton spinners of Russia purchase the raw material in Liverpool and London through their agents at those ports, but the bulk of the cotton used in Russia and particularly at Moscow, is imported by the Bremen House of L. Knoop, who have agents at Bombay and New York. It is chiefly imported at St. Petersburg (1,228,405 poods), but a considerable quantity (848,545 poods in 1868) is brought over the land frontier from Königsberg. East Indian and Egyptian cotton are now being brought direct to Russia by the Suez Canal route, but the use of Egyptian cotton is very limited in Russia owing to its price, and particularly from its high quality.

According to the returns of the British Board of Trade, the cotton imported into Russia in 1867 had been derived from the following countries, viz :—

United States	...	...	205,435 cwt.
Brazil	...	...	80,920 „
Egypt	...	...	3,629 „
East India	...	...	127,606 „
Other countries	...	...	9,880 „
Total			427,470 cwt.

* The pood is 36lbs.

Mr. Skalkoffsky states that the total quantity of Indian or Surat cotton now brought to Russia is 20,000 tons per annum. It is imported from Bremen as well as from Liverpool; and a small quantity comes in by way of Trieste, since the railway tariff between that port and St. Petersburg has been reduced to 5s. 9d. per cwt.

The use of Surat cotton in Russia is constantly on the increase, and keeps pace with the increase in the consumption of all cotton goods that are used by the masses of the people. The yearly increase in the consumption of raw cotton in Russia is estimated by the manufacturers of Moscow at 3 per cent. It is now an article of prime necessity in Russia, and the slightest fall in price has the most favourable effect on its consumption.

In 1869 the prices of East Indian cotton at St. Petersburg fluctuated between £5-1-4 and £6 per cwt. In Moscow the prices are generally 4s. 2d. per cwt. higher.

The present cost of carrying East Indian cotton to Moscow is about 7s. per cwt., thus:—

To Liverpool <i>viâ</i> the Cape	...	30s.	to 50s.	per ton.
" " Suez	...	60s.	to 80s.	"
Liverpool to St. Petersburg	...	33s. 4d.	to 41s. 8d.	"
St. Petersburg to Moscow	...		58s. 4d.	"

Taking the freight of cotton from Bombay to Odessa by the Suez Canal at £3 to £4 per ton, and by rail from Odessa to St. Petersburg at 5s. to 5s. 9d. per cwt., the cost of carriage by way of Suez will be slightly greater than *viâ* the Cape, Liverpool, and St. Petersburg, but the gain in time by the former route will fully make up for the extra cost of carriage. Mr. Knoop, the great importer of cotton, is of opinion that 3,000 to 4,000 bales might at once be imported into Russia each month from Bombay by way of the Suez Canal and Trieste or Odessa, and that as much as a million poods (16,500 tons) per annum will, in all probability, be imported into Russia by that route.

The East Indian cotton that best suits the Russian market is the saw-ginned Dharwar, both the fair and good qualities. There is no duty on the importation of raw cotton into Russia.

Respecting the *Cotton Trade* from India to Russia, Mr. R. Carnac, the Cotton Commissioner, in his Report for 1868-69, remarks:—

In Russia the style of the machinery, it is said, necessitates the use of a superior cotton; and thus, whilst the French shippers buy up Omrawati and other cottons readily, the purchasers for Russia generally prefer the cream of the Hingunghât crop and the clean long-stapled Dharwar cotton grown from American seed. This year, 1869, of the Dharwar saw-ginned cotton which was shipped from the new port of Carwar, 1,800 bales were sent direct to Cronstadt in a brig for the use of the Russian manufacturers, and it is not improbable that

next year may see some Russian merchant ships in the Bombay harbour.* His Excellency M. Vlangaly, the Russian Ambassador in China, who recently passed through India on his return to St. Petersburg, evinced a keen interest in all matters connected with Indian cotton, which, in the present state of manufactures in Russia, was, he considered, of great interest to that country.

INDIGO.—The Russians are the best customers for Bengal indigo.

Russia uses 47,087 poods (757 tons) of indigo each year. It is imported from the following countries:—

From England	...	...	...	19,561	Poods.
„ Prussia	...	...	...	19,933	„
„ Italy	...	...	...	128	„
„ Holland	...	...	...	4,476	„
„ Greece	...	...	...	506	„
„ France	...	...	...	1,821	„
„ Austria	...	...	...	668	„

St. Petersburg is the centre of the indigo trade of Russia, more than 35,000 poods being annually brought to that port.

The prices of indigo were as follows in 1869:—

At St. Petersburg—

Bengal	£60 0 0 to £66 4 0	per cwt.
Java	£55 17 0 to £74 9 0	„

At Moscow—

Bengal	£57 1 9 to £70 8 9	„
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The Russian import duty on indigo is roubles 3 per pood, or 29s. 6d. at par exchange per cwt.

RICE.—The consumption of rice in Russia, Mr. Skalkoffsky reports, is comparatively insignificant. The prices were as follows towards the end of 1869:—

At St. Petersburg—

Bengal	...	...	19s. 10d. to 26s. 5d.	per cwt.
American	...	...	18s. 7d. to 29s.	„

At Odessa—

American	...	...	18s. 4d. to 19s. 10d.	„
Italian	...	...	21s. 6d.	„

The Russian Customs duty on rice is 4s. 11d. per cwt.

* The Indian Government have lately published their annual statement of the trade and navigation of British India with foreign countries. We find in looking at the returns regarding Russia the following statistics. In 1853-54 there entered Indian ports and cleared 7 Russian vessels of 2,589 tons; in 1860-61, there were 13 of 7,652 tons. In 1866-67 there

entered Indian ports five Russian vessels with 3,469 tons of cargo. The next year it rose to 10 ships with 5,978 tons; in 1869-70 to 13 ships of 8,617 tons, and 2 ships in ballast of 1,452 tons. Small as this number is, it is higher than that of Austrian, Dutch, Italian, Swedish, or Spanish ships, taken according to their respective nationalities.

COFFEE.—On this article, Mr. Michell, the English Consul at St. Petersburg in his report to Government, remarks :—" As the use of coffee in the climate of Russia is very beneficial, its consumption increases much more rapidly than that of other foreign commodities of an edible nature. The importation of coffee has more than doubled during the last 25 years. Between 1857 and 1865, it was 309,744 poods per annum; by the old tariff coffee was very heavily taxed, but the duty now is about 20 shillings per cwt." Mr. Skalkoffsky says that were it not for the competition of tea, coffee might become an article of great importance in a direct trade with the East. Nearly one-half of the coffee consumed in Russia is imported from England, besides large quantities smuggled in on the land frontier.

Notwithstanding a very considerable reduction of the duty on coffee which has been, since 1869, 14s. 8d. per cwt, its imports are but slightly on the increase.* It is mostly used by the German and Finnish population of Russia and by the higher classes. It is also extensively mixed with chicory.

The prices of coffee were as follows in 1869 :—

At St. Petersburg :—

Best	...	...	113s. 8d. to 140s. 9d. per cwt.
Middling	..	...	105s. 5d. to 113s. 8d. "
Ordinary	...	...	90s. 2d. to 105s. 5d. "

At Moscow :—

Round	...	...	115s. 10d. to 120s. per cwt.
Inferior	...	...	93s. 5d. to 113s. 7d. "

At Odessa—

Ceylon	...	...	89s. to 91s. per cwt.
Inferior	...	...	66s. 2d. to 74s. 6d. "

Ceylon coffee, the excellent quality of which is well known in Russia, will probably come into Russia in large quantities by the Suez Route.

TEA.—Mr. Skalkoffsky advises the merchants of Russia to import their tea to Odessa direct from Shanghai by way of the Suez Canal. By the overland route through Mongolia, the tea of China, he says, takes fourteen months to reach the fair of Nijni Novogorod, whereas by the Suez route it would come in 60 to 65 days from China. The demand for sea-borne tea is rapidly on the increase in Russia; but owing to the high duties since reduced, half the tea formerly used in Russia was smuggled in, and respectable English houses in St. Petersburg have had to give up the trade, being undersold by Jewish smugglers on the land

* The Russians, unlike the French roast coffee,—it is spoiled in the and Germans, do not know how to cooking.

frontier, who smuggled into Russia on the European side, by land and water, 15,000,000 lbs. annually. This was irrespective of the smuggling carried on from Asia.

The sea-borne tea which at present enters Russia, is principally shipped from London. Mr. Skalkoffsky does not think that much East Indian tea will enter Russia, where it is almost unknown. Others, however, have reported favourably of the prospects of Indian tea in Russia; but in Russia, as in England, it will have to work its way by degrees; the taste for it has to be created.

The cost of carriage from Foochoo to Suez is about 7s. 10d. per cwt., and from Suez to Odessa 2s. 6d. per cwt.

The expense of carrying tea from Odessa to Moscow, inclusive of all charges for commissions, &c., is about 10s. 9d. per cwt.; consequently the cost of the tea shipped to Odessa from Shanghai is increased by 21s. per cwt. On the other hand the cost of carrying it to Moscow by way of Kiakhta is £3-12-9 to £5 per cwt. or 8½ to 10½d. per lb. more than by Suez independently of the great loss of time by the former route. By way of the Cape the present cost of carrying tea is as follows:—

Freight, Shanghai to London	... £6 to £8	per ton.
„ London to St. Petersburg	... 30s.	„
„ St. Petersburg to Moscow	... 83s. 4d.	„
Total cost	... £19-16-8	„

The prices of tea were as follows, in 1869:—

At St. Petersburg—

Black Congou	... 2s. 2d. to 2s. 11½d.	per lb. avoird.
„ Souchong	... 2s. 10d. to 2s. 11½d.	„
Flowery Pekoe	... 4s. 5d. to 5s. 11d.	„

At Moscow—

Canton sea-borne tea	... 2s. 6d. to 2s. 11½d.	per lb.
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At Odessa—

Tea, 1st sort	... 4s. 8½d. to 5s. 11d.	per lb.
„ 2nd	... 3s. 6½d.	„
„ 3rd	... 2s. 11½d.	„

The duty on tea imported on the overland and maritime frontiers of Russia in Europe is as follows:—

Flowery, green and yellow	... £10-16-3	per cwt.
Ordinary black and brick tea	.. £7-11-3	„

Among the other goods that might, perhaps, be to some extent exported from Russia to India, the following are mentioned in the report:—

1st.—FLOUR AND BISCUIT. These find a market even now in Egypt and in the Red Sea. Flour might be exported to the East Indies, as well as macaroni and vermicelli.

2nd.—COALS. The coal of the Don basin, when reduced in price, which is at present 1s. 3d. per cwt. at Odessa, might be carried even to Bombay.

3rd.—MEAT, TALLOW, SALT BEEF, BUTTER. All these, Mr. Skalkoffsky thinks, might be exported with profit to Egypt and even to the East Indies.

4th.—CATTLE AND HORSES. There is a great demand for Russian cattle at Alexandria.

5th.—CANDLES AND SOAP. Mr. Skalkoffsky thinks that Russian soap and candles might compete in Egypt with similar French and Austrian goods.*

6th.—ICE. Large quantities might be shipped to Egypt, the Red Sea and the East Indies from the Sea of Azoff.

7th.—CORDAGE. Russian cordage reaches the East Indies by way of Hamburg and England. If depôts were established at Aden and Bombay, a large trade might be done.

8th.—TIMBER. Much required in Egypt, Arabia, and on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Might be exported in large quantities in sailing vessels from Kherson, Taganrog, and the East Coast of the Black Sea.

9th.—KEROSINE made in the south of Russia, might be exported to Egypt where large quantities of American Kerosine are now consumed. It may become an important article of commerce in the East Indies.

10th.—SALT might be exported to Calcutta from the Coast of the Black Sea.

11th.—SPIRITS. There is a considerable demand for spirits in Egypt, and Russia can well compete with the spirits distilled in Austria and the United States.

12th.—BOOTS AND SHOES, CLOTHS, &c., might be sent to Egypt, and particularly for the army.

13th.—BROCADES AND EMBROIDERED LEATHERS—in great demand in Egypt, Arabia, and on the shores of the Red Sea.

14th.—TAR, CANVAS, TOW, &c., will be in great demand for ships navigating the canal.

15th.—HARDWARE, &c., copperware, cheap fire-arms, stirrups, bits, cast-iron pots, knives, locks, brass coffee-pots, dishes, &c., all chiefly made in Russia, would find a large market in the East.

Mr. Skalkoffsky at the conclusion of his report recommends that the Russian Steam Company should maintain six steamers (and one in reserve) on the line between Odessa and Bombay, the establishment of Russian Banks at Bombay and Shanghai, and the immediate appointment of a Russian Consul at Bombay.

While Western India is more directly concerned in the cotton trade with Russia, Northern India and Bengal have their interest especially in tea: Darjeeling, Assam, and the Western Himalayas can grow any quantity; but they require a wider market than

* Russian candles are to be purchased in the Calcutta Bazar, and the writer of this paper has met with Russian *caviare* in a native shop at Nasick on the Bombay ghats, where considerable quantities were sold.

exists at present, and most opportunely Russia presents a country of tea-drinkers, where every peasant's hut contains a tea-pot—where the tea-cup is the invariable companion alike of the merchant in his counting-house and of the labourer's wife at her market-stall ; while among the upper classes the tea-urn or *Sámovár* is ever simmering.* The population of Russia is now 70,000,000, and by the close of this century may reach to 100,000,000. What, therefore, may not be anticipated for such a trade ?

Russia is now supplied with tea carried across the whole of Siberia by a long and tedious route. The Russians are estimated by Lumley to consume 50,000,000 lbs. of tea annually, which only allows a consumption of 1 lb. per head a year ; whereas in England it is $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs per head. The social improvements going on in Russia in the elevation of the masses are likely to contribute greatly to the more extensive use of tea ; on this Lumley, in his report to Government, remarks :—

Up to to the present time one great element of wealth which Russia possesses in a larger degree than any other nation in Europe, the consuming power of the many millions of the lower classes of her popu-

* Lumley, in his report on the tea trade of Russia, states :—

"The tea-shops in the towns and by the road-side are filled with customers from morning till night : in St. Petersburg alone there are 697 of these establishments in which liquid tea is sold, besides the cafés and restaurants of a superior description ; the daily consumption of tea at some of these places being from 80 to 100 lbs

They are the resort of the droschky drivers, carters, and labourers of every description ; and it is not without interest to witness the orderly behaviour and polite demeanour of these poor peasants. As they enter the long room in which the tea is served, each man greets the bar-keeper, and as he passes the sacred image which is to be found in every Russian room, and before which a lamp is always burning, he reverently doffs his cap, and while in the room all remain uncovered. Numerous tables are ranged along the apartments, at each of which may be seen groups of six or eight sturdy *Moujiks* wrapped in their sheep pelisses, which are worn with the fleece inwards, and which, no matter

what the heat of the room, are seldom taken off or even opened.

A large tea-pot of boiling water, and a smaller one containing an allowance of tea for each man, are placed on the table, a plateful of small squares of black bread, a saucer of still smaller lumps of sugar cut like dice, one for each man, and a glass of corn brandy, constitute the repast. Both tea-pots are generally replenished as soon as the larger is emptied, but occasionally the larger one alone is re-filled and the liquid becomes tea only in name. The tea is drunk out of saucers, and the sugar is not put into the tea, but is held in the mouth. Some poor fellows, who are still more economical, will put a piece of black bread in the saucer, place a lump of sugar on the bread, pour in the tea, and after drinking two or three cups in this way, wrap the slightly diminished piece of sugar in paper and carry it away with them. Time seems to be no object to the tea-drinkers, and at a sitting many will take six or eight and even more cups of tea before turning the cup down in the saucer as the sign that they have had enough."

lation, has been neglected, or has not been sufficiently utilized for the benefit of the nation at large and of the exchequer. Other countries, however, have not been slow to avail themselves of it; and Prussia, Hamburgh, England, and even distant China, have all benefited by the wants of the population of Russia. The condition of servitude under which so large a proportion of that population languished up to 1861, rendered that source of wealth far less productive than it might have been. But this state of things has been completely changed by the great act of emancipation which has transformed the condition and character of the entire nation. Amongst those emancipated serfs who formerly dared not show that they possessed the means of purchasing the merest necessities of life, many are now known to have hoarded up money sufficient to enable them to buy land over and above that which by law they are entitled to purchase or redeem: the wages earned by them, as I have shown in former reports, are equal, and in some cases superior, to the highest wages given to labourers of the same class in England; they are, consequently, in the position to become purchasers in an equal degree with the labouring population of other countries; all that is required is that such consumption should be facilitated to the utmost by encouraging the intelligent peasantry of Russia in their desire to acquire the commodities of life; at the same time meeting that demand by reductions in the tariff on the articles most required by the lower classes.

Mr. Lumley's observations on the effect of serf emancipation in ultimately increasing the consumption of tea, are confirmed by Mr. Forsyth, of the Bengal Civil Service, who was told, on his visit to Russia in 1863, that whereas formerly the consumption of cotton goods by serfs was only a few shillings per head, now the consumption is as high as £1-6s. per head, and is on the increase. The consumption of tea must for the same reason increase.

While Darjeeling and Assam can compete in the Russian market, sending their teas to Point de Galle or Bombay, to be trans-shipped in the Odessa steamers, or more probably exporting them in Russian steamers from Calcutta direct; the Kangra and Kumaon teas will have another market opened to them—that of Central Asia, which is now virtually Russian down to the stream of the Oxus, while Russian colonization is rapidly increasing in that direction every year. Indigo, pepper, spices find their way to Turkestan from India; and the 8,000,000 of the Khanats are represented as inveterate tea-drinkers. Vambéry writes of the tea-bazaar at Bokhara, and the tea-booths with their gigantic "samovars," or tea-urns, manufactured in Russia expressly for Bokhara, which, he says, are as big as beer barrels; he speaks of the market places through which he passed every hour, and sometimes every half-hour, on his road from Bokhara to Samarkand, where the great Russian tea-kettles were ever on the boil; of the public places of recreation and the gardens of Karshi (seventy miles from Kerki, on the Amu

Daria), where the steaming *samovars* are surrounded constantly by circles of customers two and three deep; and he recounts his visit to an enthusiastic tea-dealer at Bokhara, a Chinaman from Komul (a place on the high road from Aksu to Pekin, 40 stages from Kashgar), who had in his shop sixteen different kinds of tea, which he could distinguish by his touch.

Mr. P. B. Lord, writing on the subject of the prospects of the trade of India with Turkestan, says:—

"Tea is an article in the greatest request amongst the whole nation, the consumption of which is only limited by their means of procuring it. The whole supply is at present brought by "Kafilas" from Kashgar and Yarkand (a journey of 25 days to Bokhara), and the greater part of it is of a description inferior to any I have ever seen in India."*

Mr. Lumley reports to Government that a pound of tea could be conveyed from Kangra to Khokand at from 6*d.* to 8*d.* per lb., that Indian tea may be bought in London in bond at prices varying from 4*d.* and 6*d.* per lb. for the commonest descriptions, up to 4*s.* and 5*s.* per lb. for fine flowery Pekoe. He considers that Indian tea of a common description could be sold in the markets of Central Asia at from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 2*d.* per lb.; tea of good quality at 2*s.* to 2*s.* 2*d.* per lb.; and of the most superior description at 4*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 8*d.*, and 5*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* 8*d.* per lb.

The next question is as to the means for the transit of goods to Russia from India and *vice versa*. The service between India and Russia is likely to be well performed, for it is in the hands of the Russian Steam Navigation Company, which is subsidized by the Russian Government, and will doubtless become as important an organ of trade to Russia as the Messageries Imperiales have been to France, or the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company

* One important duty of late years imposed on consuls abroad, is that of furnishing annual returns of the trade and statistics of the districts in which they are placed. These documents are of very great value, the position of the authors enabling them to obtain the most accurate information possible. With reference to Russia there are two of very great interest to Indian merchants. One is a Memorandum written in 1868 on the proposed alteration of the Russian tariff of 1857, by T. Michell (published by the House of Commons in their series of Blue Books.) Mr. Michell furnishes in this report most useful information regarding the

various productions of Russia and its internal trade. Mr. Lumley, Her Majesty's Secretary of Embassy at St. Petersburg, has also issued a valuable report on the tea-trade of Russia, dated May 1867, in which he gives full statistics as to prices and routes, but he does not refer to the Suez Canal. His report has also been published by Government.

We would earnestly recommend these Consular Reports to the attention of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce. Either the reports in full, or a periodical analysis of them, should be published by the Department.

to England. This Company has agents and correspondents in every port. It has four main lines—the Black Sea, which touches at every port of the Black Sea, both north and south, 30 ports of call in all—the Trans-Caucasian line along the shores of the Caucasus—the Mediterranean line, taking in the Greek Archipelago from Acre to Trieste, with 22 ports of call—and the Atlantic line between Gibraltar, Lisbon, London, Newcastle, Cardiff, Havre, and Rotterdam.

The steamers on the Black and Mediterranean Seas are 5 of 400-horse power, 14 of 200-horse power and upwards, and 4 of 150-horse power and upwards.

The Black Sea seems to be well provided, as there is a tri-weekly line between Odessa and Kherson, Odessa and Nicolaief, Kherson and Nicopol; there is a weekly postal service from Odessa to Galez, thence to Vienna 8 days by steamer or 4½ by rail.

The fare for a first class passage from Odessa to Sebastopol is 12½ roubles, to Poti 38.

The Atlantic line has 6 steamers of 500-horse power, 4 of 400 and 1 of 350; those for rivers and small seas amount to 16 between 100 and 220-horse power, and 18 from 60 to 100. The Crimean line ply twice a week between Odessa and Kertch from April to October, and weekly at other times. The Caucasian line ply weekly between Odessa and Poti in summer, and twice a month in winter.

The Sea of Azof has a weekly line from May to October between Odessa and Taganrog. Between Odessa and Constantinople there is a weekly line, as well as from Constantinople *via* Trebizond to the Caucasus. There is a steamer every 20 days between Odessa and London; from Alexandria to Constantinople there is a bi-monthly line taking in Jaffa, Beyrout, Rhodes, Chio, Smyrna and other places, having 14 ports of call.

The freight from Port Said to Odessa is, for cotton or tea, £1 per ton, for indigo, silk, £2, copper, drugs, £1-12s. A first class passage from Bombay to Port Said is £27-10s. This is less than that of the leading Steam Companies.

As the object of this article is to point out the openings given by the Suez Canal to Russian trade with India, we shall glance back a little at the past. Until the actual opening of the Canal, the opinion both in India and England, as well as in Russia, was that Central Asia must form the line of communication with India; as it did in the middle and early ages, across the Caspian, and up the Oxus which then flowed into the Caspian. The Indian traders first proceeded on camels' backs to the Indus; then crossing Persia, they embarked on the Caspian, and sailing up the Volga, penetrated into Permian by the Kama, and from thence to the North Sea or Baltic. Peter the Great wished to open out communications between Russia and India *via* Independent Tartary; in 1719, he

sent 2,500 men to make themselves masters of the Oxus, but they found the course of the river turned into the Aral by the Usbek Tartars; the plan was relinquished, and Russia had to be satisfied with the old route by the Caspian and Persia. Moreover, the Tartars and Kuli Khan put a stop to all efforts of the Russians at that period.* The project was however renewed in 1741 by an Englishman, favoured by the Russian Government and an Anglo-Russian Company; but little was done, and the Russian trade fell into the hands of the Armenians as agents, who, by their frugality, capital, and Eastern manners, soon gained possession of it. Count Gereptezoff in 1857, in his interesting book *The three questions of the moment*, has discussed the bearings of the Russian railways on trade between Europe and India, and in relation to Persia, Central Asia, Afghanistan; his idea was to send goods *viâ* the Volga, Astrakan, Astrabad, the Sea of Aral to Tashkend, and so on by caravan to North India, Kandahar, Kashmir, Tibet. The Suez Canal has set aside this project which would involve the merchant following in the track of the Cossack—a measure unfavourable to trade; besides, goods from Odessa can find their way to Kashmir and Kabul *viâ* Suez sooner and cheaper than by the above route. However, when the Russians shall have connected the Caspian with Khiva by rail or canal, and the rail shall be completed across the Caucasus and from Tiflis to Moscow, Tashkend will get Russian goods *viâ* the Caspian as cheap as by the Suez route.

One of the agencies required for making Indian articles known in Russia is that of travellers. Travelling has always been a means of acquiring a taste for foreign luxuries; these, introduced at home, are often pleasant memorials of sunny days in distant lands. In Russia

* Peter the Great, in order to draw back the commerce of India to its old channels, took the port of Taganrog on the Sea of Asov, but the war with Turkey hindered his making much use of it. In 1718, he sent an embassy to Persia to open trade communications through Persia with India: Russian traders in the reign of Peter had established themselves in India, while in the reign of Aurangzeb, a Russian agent had been sent to the Court of the Great Moghal. In 1558, Jenkins visited Bokhara and found there caravans from Russia and India. The nations of the north of Europe, in the middle ages, carried on a considerable trade with the Arabs of the East, through the agency of the

Slavonians. Samarkand, four or five centuries ago, carried on commercial intercourse with some of the states of Europe, and as late as the 16th century European ambassadors resided there; among them was one from the king of Spain. Ages passed by and Bokhara disappeared from notice, until Khanikoff, the Russian traveller, visited it in 1841; he gave the first account published for 400 years about it. The Russians are likely ere long to have communication with Khiva from the Caspian by rail or by turning the course of the Oxus into its original channel. See on this subject *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Décembre 1833, on the old bed of the Oxus.

you meet with numerous souvenirs of continental life and fashion, but none of the East ; in fact until lately even the south of Russia was cut off from the north by bad roads with all the dangers and expenses of posting. The writer of this article was struck very much with the fact that on a visit to the great fair of Nijni Novogorod in 1863, though it professes to represent Asia as well as Europe, he did not see a single Indian and very few Persian articles ; the goods were chiefly, with the exception of Siberian iron, Chinese tea, and Persian silk, from the Continent of Europe and England. The Moscow and St. Petersburg bazaars were equally destitute of Indian articles.

But with an influx of Russian travellers into India and the East, and the establishment of Consular agencies, this state of things must cease. The Russian tourist in India will see the reality in daily life of Indian tea, coffee, rice, spices, &c.*; and when he contracts a taste for them, will continue their use in his own country. Such has been the case with Englishmen visiting the Continent and Frenchmen travelling in England ; tourists become cosmopolitans. The chief exceptions have been Russians, but until lately foreign articles were so exorbitantly taxed in Russia that it was cheaper for an educated Russian to live out of his own country. The tariff has however been recently considerably modified.

The Russians, like all the Slavonic race, are very migratory. The severity and sedentariness of their winter, as well as their boundless plains, compel them to be so. No sooner does the thawing of the snows take place at St. Petersburg or Moscow, than all the Russians of wealth who, like their bears, have been in a state of compulsory quietude during the winter, begin swallow-like to go in search of a more genial climate. The watering places of Germany and the fashionable cities of the Continent have hitherto been their refuge, and no less than 100,000 Russians were abroad on the Continent a few years ago. Neither their morals nor their purses have improved by this. But self-emancipation is compelling the nobles to attend more to their own estates ; and this, as well as a purer taste for oriental subjects and scenery, will, we believe, gradually produce the healthier and more useful result of leading them, through the facilities afforded by railways, to resort in the summer season to the romantic and health-giving shores of the Crimea. The Imperial family go there every season, and the nobility are erecting very beautiful villas for themselves ; the travelling propensities of the Russians will not be content with this, but will lead them to the Caucasus, the Caspian, Persia and the Persian Gulf. And what will be easier and cheaper than to embark from Odessa in a steamer to Bombay, a route which will have the advantage of a glorious view of marine scenery along the Dardenelles, the Grecian

Archipelago, the Canal and the Red Sea, and-introduce them to Bombay with all its beauties of land and water? Ascending by rail the stupendous ghâts, they could with ease visit Madras, Calcutta, the Panjâb and Simla in a trip of six months. A far more varied and novel route this, than the old worn-out paths of continental cities; and the whole can be done by rail and steam at a moderate expense, involving little fatigue or exposure to climate. At Bombay they will be within 3 days of Calcutta; $2\frac{1}{2}$ days of Madras; and 3 days of the Himalayas.

China also will receive its quota of travellers in connection with the Russian steamer line between Shanghai and Odessa; while the route from China to Russia *viâ* India and Odessa will be far more agreeable for Russians than the present one through the deserts of Siberia. Calcutta has received visits of late from the Russian Ambassador from China, and the Secretary of Legation to the Russian Embassy in Pekin; both of whom found a journey from Pekin to St. Petersburg *viâ* Hong-Kong, Singapore, Calcutta, Allahabad, Bombay, and Suez, a far more agreeable and shorter route than to proceed through Siberia in the depth of winter in sledges, exposed to storms and inconveniences of every kind.

Russian travellers are likely to come to India in numbers, and the tendency of recent changes in Russia favours it. The fashionable season breaks up at St. Petersburg and Moscow in May when the rivers become open; every Russian of means is anxious to get away from his ice-bound prison towards the genial sunny south, once looked on as the land of Cimmerian darkness, the government of which was regarded by officials as a punishment. If it was said in reference to America "westward the course of empire turns its way," of Russia it may be stated, *southward* the course of empire turns its way; the south of Russia has the most fertile soil and the most intelligent and active of the Russians. St. Petersburg was made the capital of the Russian people, and a window looking out into Europe, in a day when even Peter the Great never dreamed that India would be accessible to Russia in 26 days by the Suez Canal; the climate and foreign customs have made St. Petersburg very unacceptable to the Russians at large; the patriotism and national feeling of Russia has ever looked to Moscow as the real capital—the heart of Russia, notwithstanding the influence of the Court. The rail seems destined in Russia as in other countries to have a considerable effect on the position of the capital, and will favour the scheme of decentralization now being carried out in Russia. Before the railway system, St. Petersburg was the port of embarkation and disembarkation for Europe, holding the same position in this respect as Calcutta did in relation to England; but as the rail to Bombay is affecting the City of Palaces, so the rail through Moscow to Odessa will the City of the Czar; and

the line is nearly complete which will connect Moscow with the German railways, rendering the south of Russia entirely independent of St. Petersburg in various matters of trade. Odessa, the Liverpool of Russia, will be the port of South Russia; while Sebastopol, hitherto only known in connection with a military system, bids fair to become a very large place of trade; its port is not frozen in winter and it will soon be connected with the Russian line of railways. It is now the head-quarters of the Russian Steam Navigation Company, as powerful a body as the Peninsular and Oriental Company. While Sebastopol is very bleak in winter, as the Crimean war showed, the southern shores are the very reverse. In the new edition of Murray's Hand-book to Russia, 1868, there is a very good account of the Crimea. Regarding the climate, the writer says:—"The climate of the southern coast of the Crimea is completely different from that of any other part of the Crimea. To the north of the mountains even as far as Balaclava and the valley of Baider there is a severe winter, and the ground, as we too well know, is covered with snow. But when the pass of Phoros is crossed, the climate entirely changes; *no snow ever falls on the sea regions and a perpetual spring reigns there.*" Even as early as the days of Alexander I., who built a palace in the Crimea, this coast began to be frequented in the winter, and villas have been gradually on the increase, so that it is now becoming a Russian Isle of Wight, a second Naples. Its scenery is charming, hill and dale, wood and water, and the shores of old ocean; with plenty of facilities to visit the stupendous scenery of the Caucasus. Dr. Russell in his account of the Prince of Wales's travels, gives an interesting description of this place of royal palaces, as well as of Prince Woronzof's residence. Murray remarks of Yalta on the southern coast, "Its excellent port and charming situation make it the rendezvous of the tourists who flock in great numbers to the Crimea during the summer season. The number of Russian families that come here for the purpose of bathing is increasing from year to year, and bids fair to make Yalta the Russian Brighton." The Crimea will also prove to travelling Russians a half-way house to India. It abounds with ruins and monuments of Tartar days. A run by steamer across to Poti, a visit to the Caucasus with its magnificent scenery, then by rail to Baku with its fire-temples, then by steam across the Caspian to Persia, through Teheran to Bushire, and by the British India Steam Navigation Co's vessels to Bombay, returning by the Bombay route to Odessa, would give the traveller a view of the most interesting countries—the coast of Palestine, Jaffa, Latakia, Beyrout, the isles of the Grecian Archipelago and the shores of Asia Minor, Chio, Tenedos, Smyrna, the Dardanelles, and the glories of Constantinople. These sights will give the travelled Russians far higher ideas of the world and man than they get as long as they limit

their range to the old beaten route through Italy, Germany, and France. The Russians, as semi-orientals, ought not to be cockney in all that relates to Eastern lore and Eastern lands ; the land of the morning surely ought have some attraction for the Slav, whose ancestors were among the last to leave the cradle of the Aryan race.

While Russians will visit India, Anglo-Indians in return are likely to visit Russia. Owing to distance and other-causes, the Russians have until now appeared to Anglo-Indians as the French did to John Bull half a century ago, as a strange people fond of fighting. In this case "distance does not lend enchantment to the view ;" but a closer contact with Russia and the Russians will show that not even the antagonism Lord Lyndhurst attributed to the Irish as "aliens in blood, language and religion" will apply to the Russians. The English race, made up of Saxon, Danish, Norman, Celtic blood, is of the same great Aryan stock as the Russian. Their languages have an affinity with Sanskrit as the connecting link ; while the Russo-Greek church is catholic in its sympathies, and the late fraternisation between it and officials of the English and American Episcopal Churches is a sign for good.

Several Anglo-Indians have of late years returned to India *via* Russia, proceeding to Nijni Novogorod by rail, thence by steam to Astrakan, round the Caspian through Teheran down to Bushire, whence steamers ply twice a month to Bombay. A short and agreeable route in going from India to England would be from Bombay by one of the Russian Steam Navigation Company's vessels to Constantinople in about 16 days, touching on the way at Beyrout, Jaffa, and Smyrna ; after spending a week in Constantinople to witness the fast fading glories of the city of the Sultán, to make a day's run through the Bosphorus to Odessa, the Liverpool of Russia and her future commercial capital. The traveller can then proceed by rail* the whole way to England, taking

* "The average fares of the Russian railways are (says the *Pall Mall Gazette*) lower than even the low German fares : first-class not quite three half-pence an English mile ; second-class, little over a penny ; third-class, little over one half-penny. On the Petersburg-Moscow line the third-class fare is but one-third of a penny per English mile. The Russian first-class carriages are among the best in the world, the second and third class are but slightly inferior to those of Germany, and superior to those of all other countries. On the Petersburg-Moscow line, (and I believe on some other lines also)

sleeping accommodation in special compartments may be had for all three classes, with proportionate comfort, and at very moderate charges. A third class passenger who makes use of the sleeping compartment, pays but one half-penny a mile for his seat and the sleeping accommodation together."

† In 1868 Mr. Michell, the English Consul at St. Petersburg, published a second edition of *Murray's Hand-Book of Russia* which gives very full, new and interesting information to English travellers. Freshfield's *Travels in the Caucasus*, 1869,

in his route Moscow and St. Petersburg—the latter only 3½ days by rail to England; or he can proceed from Odessa to Paris in six days *viâ* Lemberg and Cracow. Another route is to visit the Crimea by steamers, see the magnificent mountain scenery of the Caucasus† and then by Baku proceed up the Caspian and Volga to Nijni Novogorod, and thence the whole way to England by rail.

Among the subjects of interest to an Anglo-Indian traveller in Russia, foremost is philo-Slavism, *social* in its aims; which deprecates the denationalising process Russia has undergone, owing to some of the hot-bed reforms of Peter the Great, and the policy of his successors to Germanise or Gallicise the people, instead of allowing them to follow their natural development—having more enlightened ideas and customs than their ancestors, but cast in a Slavonic mould.*

Though the Russian be one of the most difficult languages in the world, yet the Russian educated classes in the large cities speak foreign languages to a greater extent than those in any other part of the world. On the railways and steamers there are many who know English, while French is spoken very generally in

serves as a capital guide to that romantic region whose glaciers and passes are so well worth exploring. Its ranges surpass the Alps by 2,000 feet in the average height of the peaks, abounding in noble scenery and picturesque inhabitants, and even now within reach of many long-vacation tourists. Freshfield suggests that travellers should abandon for a season their old sea loves and "start in quest of the fresher charms of the hitherto neglected maiden peaks of the Caucasus, where Russia, now no longer conscious of formidable foes on the rear, can from the highlands of Armenia look down over the valley of the Euphrates." Years ago the Emperor Nicolas remarked to Captain Spencer in the Crimea,—Why do not the English come in numbers and make the beautiful scenery of the Crimea their summer tour, now that there are such facilities of travelling by steam?

* There is a Pan-Slavonic movement going on in Russia which aspires to unite all the Slav race in a tribal union, with Russia as the federal head, with her seat at Constantinople.

This Pan-Slavonic movement is established on similar grounds to Pan-Germanism, Anglo-Saxonism, the Latin

race union (advocated by Louis Napoleon). One of the most remarkable books that has appeared on this question of Russian Pan-Slavism and Constantinople is by Fadeeff, a general of the Russian army, translated by Mitchell, the English Consul at St. Petersburg. It was published with the permission of the censorship, and puts the question in a point of view that none but a Russian can elucidate. The General admits that even if Russia took Constantinople by sea, she could not hold it while Austria kept 300,000 troops in the rear at the Balkan, the keys of which she holds on the lower Danube. Austria can revolutionise Poland, and hurl a European coalition against Russia's western frontier. He states on the question:—"We can have no European allies in view of the Eastern question, and while Austria stands she will be a shield to Turkey. She must be opposed to Russia on the Eastern question on account of two-thirds of her subjects being Slavs favourable to Russia, to whom Austria is as much opposed as the Russians were to the Poles. The knot of the Eastern question lies in Austria, not in Turkey." The General advocates the union of all the

large towns, and German is not uncommon in consequence of the numerous Germans who are scattered throughout the empire ; but the Anglo-Indian traveller, acquainted with Sanskrit or any of the Sanskrit-derived languages of India, will have a great advantage in acquiring some knowledge of colloquial Russian from the etymological affinity of the Sanskrit and Slavonic languages. More than half the roots in Russ are common to it with the Sanskrit.

A subject of mutual interest to a Russian visiting India and to an Anglo-Indian travelling in Russia is the village system or commune ; which was once a tower of strength to the Indian ryots, and which is the basis in Russia of the great reforms which are now progressing. The national party there have very properly grounded the development of Russia on extending and amplifying the powers of the *Mir* or village commune. The Russian people retain among them many Eastern usages and Oriental customs and practices, which it will interest the Anglo-Indian to observe ; while the Russian in India will be surprised at seeing so many traces of the identity and common origin of the Aryan race, though so long and so widely separated.

A millennium of peace is still a distant object, but one of the best ways of promoting the amity of nations is trade. We see its effects in diminishing the international prejudices between Englishmen and Frenchmen, once so very strong. The trading classes of England and America have also contributed powerfully to maintain peace between their respective countries ; and similar influences will exercise a similar power with regard to Russia and England. It is a remarkable fact that the prejudice against Russia is chiefly with that class of Englishmen who have had little personal or commercial intercourse with Russia or Russians, and whose views have been formed by party-writers or Poles—a Pole describes Russia, as a Fenian would England, as a blood-thirsty ogre. These false views on both sides can only be removed by intercourse, literary, commercial and social, between the Russian and English nations ; every additional Russian or Englishman engaged in the trade between Russia and England is therefore a soldier won over to the fraternity of nations, who finds that the system of free-trade gives at once what war only *may* after heavy expense and with much uncertainty.

Slavonic races federally to the Russian empire—an empire of which the population will in all probability attain a total of 100 millions by the end of the present century. The Slavonic population would add 40 millions to this ; to

which may be added the Greeks—though the General treats the idea of the Greeks having Constantinople “as the senseless chimera, the fruit of the archeological fancies of the Greek learned party.”

ART. III.—BURMAH, PAST AND PRESENT.

FAR away on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, in the golden peninsula of Malacca, lies a fertile territory as large as Great Britain, which is known as British Burmah. To the north-east of this province is another and larger territory under native rule, which is known as Ava. Prior to the first Burmese war of 1824-26, these two regions formed the empire of Burmah; but ever since the second Burmese war of 1852, they have been politically distinct. The whole country may be described as a land of great rivers, green valleys, and blue hills; of tropical heat tempered by long seasons of heavy rain; of monster fruits and many-colored flowers; of excellent rice, magnificent timber, wells of earth-oil, and lustrous rubies.

The people of Burmah are not Hindus. They are not oppressed by a Brahmanical religion, or fear of caste observances, or gloomy terror of everlasting torment. They are a light-hearted race, and love to flaunt in silks and cottons of divers colors, to smoke green cheroots, to saunter about flirting and chaffing, to sleep half the day and sit up all the night at the performance of some interminable drama, to feast on saucers of rice, curry, fish, fruits and tea. They are fond of money, and very fond of the pomp and dignity of official life; but they do not like work. So long as there is a bag of rice and a jar of salt-fish in the house, the Burman is an idle gentleman. The women are somewhat different. Wives and mothers often transact all the business of the household. The younger ladies are demure, coquettish and laughter-loving; moving about in nondescript petticoats with their long glossy hair adorned with gay flowers or delicate orchids.

The Burmese have a religion which they love, not with the self-assertion of Pharisees, nor with the indifference of Sadducees, but with an unquestioning faith which saturates their imaginations, and finds more or less expression in their daily lives. It is a religion which is cheerful in itself, and accounts for all the anomalies of existence, whilst it defies alike all argument and all declamation. It turns upon the dogma that the soul is immortal, in the fullest sense of the word; that it has existed for ever, and will exist for ever; that no sooner does it leave the body of a man or an animal than it enters the body of another man or animal; and that its happiness or misery in future existences depends upon its acts in past existences. If a man leads a good life he will be born in another life rich, happy and long-lived. If he leads many good lives he may ascend to a heaven of felicity, and dwell there until his merits have been sufficiently

rewarded, after which he returns again to the sphere of earthly existence. If on the contrary he leads a wicked life, he will be born to poverty, disease, and adversity; if very wicked, he will become an insect or reptile; if very wicked for many lives, he will descend to a hell of torment and dwell there until his sins have been sufficiently punished, and he is permitted to return to the sphere of earthly being. There is no substantive conception of deity in this religion. The soul is simply imprisoned in a universe of existence, going from one body to another according to its deserts, sometimes ascending and sometimes descending; but always in obedience to an inexorable law.

The vitality of this doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul, is worthy of consideration. The doctrine offers a solution of the most difficult problem in humanity—namely, the reason why some people are born to poverty or disease, blindness or adversity, whilst others are born to riches, health, beauty and prosperity. This question is ignored in modern theology, but it was always present to the speculative thinkers of the ancient world; and many attempts were made to account for an anomaly which was regarded as the injustice of the gods. The Sabæan religion taught that individual lives depended upon the good or evil influence of the sun, moon, or one or other of the planets; but this astrological belief was devoid of moral meaning, and the religion stiffened into a round of rites intended to propitiate the good deities and avert the malignant influences of the evil ones. Moses solved the problem after a different fashion. He taught that the sins of the fathers would be visited upon the children, whilst mercy would be shown to the children of the righteous man. This teaching is physiologically true, but it revolts against the current idea of justice. The question, however, is one of faith rather than of proof; and it is as easy to believe that the soul has existed for ever, as to believe that it will exist for ever.

This doctrine of the endless transmigration of the soul once prevailed throughout India. It finds full expression in the laws of Manu; and to this day the Buddhist and the Brahman are agreed upon the dogma. In the minds of both, the universe of being is nothing more than an eternal chain of existences. But the grave question arose as to the possibility of delivering the soul from this vortex of successive lives. The Brahmans were an hereditary priesthood, and they naturally converted the dogmas of endless transmigrations into an engine of ecclesiastical oppression. They established a wearisome system of ceremonial and caste observances, and declared that the future state and final deliverance of the soul depended upon the rigid observance of the Brahmanical laws. Buddhism was simply a revolt against this priestly tyranny. It denounced the caste system and the sacrifice

of animals, as opposed to the principle of universal benevolence. It declared that the only means by which man could elevate himself in the scale of being, and finally obtain deliverance, was by the practice of the great virtues,—truth, purity, honesty, and benevolence; and that the only sins for which he would suffer in future transmigrations were those of deceit, impurity, theft, and cruelty.

But Gotama Buddha, like all religious reformers, rushed into extremes. He taught the dogma that the soul might be finally delivered from this endless chain of existences—this eternal change of habitations, by a life or lives of transcendental purity. Existence had its origin in the passions; therefore by crushing out the passions, the soul would cease to exist, and would sink into a state of eternal repose. To achieve this end it would be necessary to lead a life in which no idea of the world or its concerns could possibly enter the soul. The man who desired to escape from the turmoils of existence must have no thought for food or clothing, no affection, and no passion. The love of women and children, the sense of wrong and injustice, the thirst for wealth or power, should utterly fail to ruffle or disturb the perfect serenity of his soul. His whole intellectual and moral nature should be absorbed in contemplating the pains of existence and the beatitude of eternal rest. Fortunately this very extreme view prevented the religion of Buddha from interfering with the innocent pleasures of human life. Had it been more moderately expressed, it might have proved a puritanical curse to the human race, by suppressing all those joyous gatherings which add so much to the grace and beauty of humanity, and by checking the free play of all those affections and sentiments which elevate man above the mere animal. But there is no medium in Buddhism. A man must be either in the world or out of it. If he is still enamoured with the pleasures of existence, let him have his fill so long as he abstains from vice and practises virtue. But if he is weary of existence and is really desirous of eternal repose, he must cast aside the world with all its pleasures and its cares, and devote himself to a strict monastic life of celibacy and contemplation, on one meal a day, which must be furnished by others without causing him the slightest uneasiness or concern.

This peculiar religion finds full expression in the life of Gotama Buddha, the apostle of modern Buddhism. Gotama was a young prince brought up amidst all the pleasures of palace life under Asiatic despotism. He was married to a beautiful princess, but the loveliest daughters of the nobles were proud to become his concubines and amuse him with music and dances. Suddenly he was struck with the miseries and vanity of life. He saw an old man, a leper, and a dead man, and his mind became haunted with visions of old age, disease, and death. The

young ladies of the palace failed to please him. Youth and beauty lost all their charms, and became ghastly in his eyes. At last he suddenly left his zenana, his family, and his palace, and betook himself to the jungle. Then the so-called divine truth dawned upon his soul. Existence originated in the passions, and by crushing out the passions beings would cease to exist. From that hour to the day of his death he led the life of a religious mendicant, moving about from place to place preaching the only sure way of salvation. He lived on such broken victuals as people chose to give him, eating only one meal a day. Finally he died in old age, after making thousands of priests and believers.

Such is the national faith of the Burmese. The clergy and laity form two perfectly distinct classes of society, but the ranks of the one are perpetually recruited from the ranks of the other. The priest is termed a phoongyee. Any man can become a phoongyee by taking the necessary oaths. He is then provided with a yellow gown and an alms-bowl. Every morning he takes a solemn walk, looking neither to the right nor the left, whilst the people eagerly place cooked food in his alms-bowl, as an act of benevolence by which they add to their merits and secure a higher stage of existence in the next life. When the phoongyee has completed his round, he returns to the monastery where he takes the one meal of the day. His only employment is to read religious books, to teach the boys who come to the monastery, to meditate upon the uselessness of life and means of salvation, to adore the memory of Gotama Buddha, and to offer up a number of prayers or pious utterings with a rosary. He may rise to the rank of bishop, or archbishop, but his life is still the same,—the yellow robe, the morning walk, the monastic life, and the one meal a day.

Every Burman, almost without exception, becomes once in his life a phoongyee. It may be for a year or two, or only for a few months, but it may be for a life time. A repentant burglar, a disappointed lover, an injured husband, occasionally become phoongyees. Young men lead lives of pleasure with the idea of becoming phoongyees when they grow old. But there is no misery in the Buddhist monastery, like that which the imagination depicts in religious houses in other countries; no hankering after domestic pleasures or a married life. If the phoongyee repents his vows, he has but to throw off his yellow robe and leave the monastery. Meantime the life is by no means an unhappy one. The stomach is soon educated to the one meal a day, and the phoongyees live absolutely without a care; for every necessity of life is amply and gladly supplied by the community at large. In a word, the clergy are cheerfully supported by the voluntary contributions of the laity, not only with-

out rates or regular subscriptions, but without any public or private appeal.

The outward life of a phoongyee is indeed one of the most singular problems in the oriental world. Dressed in his yellow robe, which wraps him around like a blanket, he goes everywhere and is everywhere respected. His initiation is an act of triumph. He is arrayed in gay garments and jewels, and carried to the monastery like a bridegroom, attended by his friends and relatives and bands of music. When he has entered the building he is stripped of all his rich attire, and assumes the yellow robe, and apparently turns his back upon the world for ever. He has found the way of deliverance; he is now to ascend the ladder which leads to eternal rest. His death is a still more triumphant affair. No expense is spared upon his funeral. His hearse is not a gloomy black carriage with melancholy appendages exciting awe and terror. It is a gay and fantastic tower, adorned with flowers and streamers, and covered with figures of gods and demons to show that he is now infinitely superior to them all. He has gained the victory, not over death but over life. The huge tower which contains his coffin is carried along upon a large car. Crowds of men, women and children follow his remains to the place of burning, dressed in their best attire and accompanied by bands of music. His soul has been delivered from the pangs of existence and has sunk into everlasting sleep.

The moral effect of Buddhism is undoubtedly very great. The laity are still men and women, eager for pleasure; and even if they commit a sin, they believe they can wipe it away by an act of superior virtue, and they regard benevolence as the highest virtue. For this reason men are impelled to build monasteries, pagodas, resting-places for travellers, memorials of Buddha and statues of Gotama; to give daily food to priests and pilgrims; to set up tables of food for all comers at the great yearly festivals; to send cartloads of provisions to any place which has been visited by a public calamity.

But public morals could only be enforced by the civil power. There were no grinding caste laws, with their stern exactions and horrible excommunications to terrify into obedience all who committed a breach of priestly rule. Marriage and concubinage were regarded as civil contracts; and all breaches of such contracts were punishable by fines. Seduction was also punishable by a fine, but if it was obvious that a youth or damsel had simply "amused themselves after the manner of young people"—no notice was taken of the offence. If the parents of a daughter married her to a young man, knowing that she had previously been too intimate with another lover, and not disclosing the fact to the bridegroom, they had to pay a fine or the marriage was

void. But the Burmese are not nice upon those points which are generally the strongest in the eyes of Asiatic husbands. Slavery again is recognised, and the law as regards the children of slaves is as fixed as the law of inheritance.

But the results of Buddhism are perhaps best understood by comparing them with the results of Brahmanism. The religion of the Hindus is one of a gloomy repression. The temples of India are heavy and grotesque, and as melancholy as sepulchres. The Brahmanical priesthood are the most avaricious of mankind. The marriage ceremonies, the feasts of the dead, the yearly fasts and festivals, all entail a ruinous expenditure which includes the payment of large sums to the Brahmans. The forced interchange of presents upon special occasions between members of the same Hindu family, especially between the poorer and wealthier branches, is often accompanied by taunts and heart-burnings which embitter the lives of those who suffer beyond all conception. The pride of the Hindu, the keenest susceptibilities of his nature, are wounded to the core. Again, at almost every social gathering, the master of the house is expected to feed a host of lazy, gluttonous and graceless Brahmans, before either himself or his own guests can sit down to the feast. But the greatest curse to the happiness of the Hindus is the seclusion of their women. The liberties of a people, the independence of a nation, depend upon the intelligence and freedom of the mothers; and until oriental mothers are educated, and obtain a personal experience of the world around them, their sons will be utterly unfitted for the exercise of political power.

The religion of the Burmese is free from all such tyranny. Their religious buildings are airy structures adorned with pictures and gilding, and very often decked with gay streamers. The throng of worshippers gathering to the pagoda appear to be as happy as a crowd of children on a holiday. Boys and girls, young men and maidens, husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, all apparently go to lay flowers before the statues of Buddha, to utter the formula of the Buddhist faith, to beat the big bells with deers' horns and mallets, and to feast and smoke joyously at one of the many tables round about the pagoda. The Buddhist priests cannot take money, and will not as a rule touch money. They are not present at marriages, and they are not feasted beyond the daily meal. They are loved and respected, but never feared. The forced interchange of presents on a ruinous scale is not a part of the social system of the Burmese.

Girl marriages, as they exist in India, are unknown in Burmah. Moreover, a Burmese damsel is not supposed to marry without some regard to her inclination; and a suitor is expected to pay proper attentions and to make suitable presents before he can

win her affections and render himself worthy of her hand. Morals are not quite as they should be ; young nymphs and swains will occasionally forget themselves and indulge in unhallowed pleasures ; but, excepting in the sea-port towns, public prostitution and child-murder are scarcely known.

The peculiar relations between the sexes which prevail in Burmah will perhaps be best understood by the statement that courtship is an institution of the country. The time from eight o'clock in the evening until midnight is commonly known as "courting time." A traveller passing through a village in "courting time" will see here and there a dull light in a window, from which he may infer that a daughter of the house is sitting in conversation with her admirers, who may be five or six in number. Each one is a check upon the other, and consequently whilst chaffing and talking goes gaily on, no improprieties can be committed. This is legitimate courting as far as the young lady is concerned ; but can scarcely be regarded as satisfactory by her lovers, who are sure to be jealous of any favour which may be shown to any one of their number. So thoroughly understood is this institution, that criminal offenders frequently endeavour to prove an *alibi* by showing that they were absent from home on a courting expedition ; whilst it is often referred to by witnesses in giving evidence as to time in courts of justice. This institution has led to a division of the evening which is well known throughout Burmah, namely, children's bed-time, old folks' bed-time, and young folks' bed-time. The institution, however, is a fruitful source of quarrels ; and a disappointed lover who discovers that the damsel has been too kind to another admirer, will stab the favoured individual with the Burmese knife or *dah*, or run a spear through the floor of matting on which the pair may be sleeping. Such tragedies are by no means uncommon in Burmah. In India they are next to impossible.

The Burmese are an Indo-Chinese race, who descended the valley of the Irrawaddy in some remote period until they encountered the Talines, who were pressing up the river from the sea coast. The opposition of the Burmese of Ava to the Talines of Pegu is the leading feature in the history of the people. The Talines were a cognate race of Indo-Chinese who had apparently migrated from India, partly on account of the Aryan invasion, and partly on account of the persecutions of the Brahmans. The old Portuguese histories are full of references to the bloody and devastating wars between the Burmans of Ava and the Talines of Pegu. The whole country was divided into petty states, such as Arakan, Martaban, Tenasserim, Tounghoo, and Prome. Sometimes the Taline kings of Pegu were lords paramount of the empire. Sometimes the suzerainty passed into the

hands of the Burman kings of Ava. Then again there were intermittent wars between Burmah and China, and between Burmah and Siam. It was probably at this period that the teeming population began to disappear from the land. War not only slew its tens of thousands of strong men, but drove a host of others to assume the yellow gown, and lead lives of celibacy in the monasteries. The depopulation became so marked, that simple-minded efforts were made to remedy the evil. The women were required to wear petticoats open at the sides, so that their charms might attract the eyes of the sterner sex. Foreign traders were supplied with wives, but not allowed to take their children out of the country. A lax morality crept in, which still lingers in the land, but in none of those revolting forms in which it is to be found in the great cities of India.

The modern history of Burmah commences in the middle of the last century. The Taline kings of Pegu had inflicted a severe defeat upon the Burman kings of Ava, and had taken possession of their capital, and overthrown and massacred the reigning dynasty. The new Taline empire thus included Ava as well as Pegu, but almost in the hour of victory was overthrown by a revolution. There was a head-man of a Burman village, who was known as Alompra, the hunter. Alompra managed to massacre the Taline garrison of his village, and then stockaded the place all round, and broke into revolt. The village rapidly became the centre of a national uprising of the Burmese, which terminated, not only in the expulsion of the Talines from Ava, but in the Burmese conquest of Pegu. Alompra became sovereign of the new empire, which extended from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of China; and he founded the dynasty which still rules at Mandalay. This revolution was effected between 1750 and 1760. It was the commencement of a new order of things which continues, with some political modifications brought about by the first and second Burmese wars, down to the present day; and it is a significant fact that the official records of the Burmese government, which are still preserved at Mandalay, only date from this period.

This change of dynasty materially affected the fortunes of the English. The Taline rulers of Pegu on the sea coast had encouraged the visits of European merchants. The Portuguese obtained the ascendancy in Pegu for some years by assisting the Taline kings with ships and artillery. Throughout the seventeenth century, and the early part of the eighteenth, captains of merchant vessels, either belonging to the East India Company, or adventurers on their own account, known as interlopers, frequently entered the Irrawaddy river and traded with the inhabitants of Pegu. They sold the opium of Western India, the dyed or painted cottons

from the coast of Coromandel, and the white cloths and muslins of Bengal. In return they brought away gold, silver, rubies, sapphires, tin, lead, copper and rice. But from time immemorial the Burmese of the inland territory of Ava had been an ignorant and exclusive race. An unfortunate Portuguese envoy found his way to Ava in the seventeenth century, and was at once immured in confinement, and treated with haughty contumely. When Pegu fell under Burmese rule, the new *régime* displayed an exclusive spirit in that province, the same as they had previously done in Ava.

In the first instance, however, Alompra proffered friendship to the English, who at that time had a factory at Negrais. He wanted the assistance of English artillery and English shipping. But the English were quarrelling with the French in Pegu, just as they were quarrelling with the French in the Carnatic; and the representatives of each nation endeavoured to secure the aid of native powers against the other. The English promised to aid Alompra, but then found that the French were also helping him; and accordingly they aided the Talime king of Pegu against Alompra and the French. The result was that Alompra was greatly exasperated against the English, and at the instigation of some French and Armenians, he massacred all the merchants at Negrais. Profound distrust and suspicion henceforth became an hereditary sentiment of the house of Alompra; and as the capital was situated in Ava far away from the sea-board, the sentiment became aggravated by that ignorant arrogance which still lingers in the courts of irresponsible Asiatic despots, who have not as yet been brought under the influence of a paramount European power. The exportation of rice and silver was strictly forbidden,—a measure which made rice so cheap in Pegu that the cultivation of large tracts was abandoned. Such was the state of the province when the English took possession of it in 1852. Food was cheap, but the people were poor. Under British administration the condition of the province has been reversed. Rice is dear, but the cultivators are growing rich. The competition of British merchants for the purchase of rice for export, has so raised the prices, as to materially benefit the cultivators, whilst largely extending the cultivation. The consequence is, that since the annexation of Pegu in 1852, the population and revenue have more than doubled.

The history of the annexation of the territories which now form the province of British Burmah, is a twice-told story. Still the main points may be brought briefly under review. The successors of Alompra added the outlying kingdoms of Arakan and Tenasserim to the Burman empire, and brought the frontier conterminous with that of Bengal. Thus an independent Asiatic power was brought into immediate contact with a European power, and a

trial of strength was inevitable. Throughout the eighteenth century the idea of war was entirely opposed to the wishes of the East India Company, but the instinct of self-preservation, and the war against the French, rendered a policy of isolation impossible in the Indian peninsula. In the Malacca peninsula we were fairly driven into war. The king of Ava demanded from the British government the surrender of some political refugees who had escaped across the frontier; and so anxious were the Bengal authorities to preserve peace that they actually violated the law of nations by complying with the demand. Succeeding Governor-Generals refused to follow such a precedent, and declared that such refugees were sacred. At that time Bhodau-pra, son of Alompra, was sovereign of Burmah,—a monarch who reigned from 1781 to 1819, and who still lives in national tradition as a ruler endowed with strong passions and strong will before whom all the ministers trembled. Bhodau-pra was much exasperated with the British authorities. His demands rose higher. He arrogantly called upon the British government to surrender Chittagong, Dacca, and Moorshedabad. War would probably have ensued, but about this period Bhodau-pra assumed that he was another Buddha, and he left his palace for some time and took up his residence in a pagoda. Under his son and successor Phagye-dau, many raids and outrages were committed by the Burmese on British territory, and all redress was arrogantly refused, whilst every envoy was treated with contumely. Thus, after years of patience and long suffering, during which it was felt that war could not be avoided much longer, hostilities were at last declared.

The first Burmese war took place in 1824-26. After some obstinate engagements behind stockades, the Burmese army was compelled to retreat towards the capital. The state of utter alarm which prevailed at that time, and the horrible cruelties which were practised on English residents, and on all who were supposed to have any sympathy with the invaders, are admirably depicted in Judson's Memoirs. The campaign ended in the annexation of the two strips of coast territory, known as Arakan and Tenasserim; whilst the territory of Pegu, which included the rich valley of the Irrawaddy, and separated Arakan from Tenasserim, was left in the possession of the Burmese.

The interval between the close of the Burmese war in 1826 and the commencement of the second war in 1852, was occupied by vain attempts at conciliation on the part of the British government, which were received with arrogance and bombast by the Burmese officials. A British officer was appointed as Resident at the capital for several years, but was so often threatened by the late king Tharrawaddi, a grandson of Bhodau-pra, that at last he retired in 1840. The question of whether the second Burmese

war of 1852 was just or unjust is now an obsolete one. It will suffice to say that the provocation was very considerable, the campaign very short, and the acquisition of Pegu very valuable.

Here then we have two countries growing up side by side—Burmah under the British rule, and Ava under Burmese rule. The administration of Burmah corresponds generally to the system which prevails in all our provinces, and is consequently too well-known to require particular mention. But the Burmese system is of indigenous growth, and therefore well merits the attention of all who care to study Asiatic institutions.

The Burmese constitution is strictly of an official character. It has no aristocratic element, for there is no hereditary nobility. There is no democratic element, for the people are bound body and soul to the king by the crushing force of Asiatic despotism. A network of officialism extends over the whole country. Every village has not only its own headman, but a headman for every ten households. If it is a large village, it has also a gong or constable for every quarter. A group of villages forms a circle, a group of circles forms a township, and a group of townships forms a district or province. Every circle, township, and district has its own particular governor. Every headman of a village, and every governor of a circle, township, or district, sends up a monthly report to the capital of all that has occurred under their respective jurisdictions. The governors of districts and townships are called *woons*; and in connection with each *woonship* there are two officials residing at the capital, namely, the *Seing-ya* or representative officer, and the *Myo-sa*, or “eater” of the district.

These officials at the capital deserve special notice. They are connected with the districts, whilst they are resident at the court. It might thus be inferred that they formed a representative assembly or parliament at the metropolis; but, as already stated, there is no popular element whatever in the Burmese constitution. The *Seing-ya*, or representative officer, is simply the official to whom the king assigns the execution of all orders connected with the *woonship*, and who is also held responsible for its good order. The *Myo-sa*, of “eater of the district” is, or rather was, a different kind of personage altogether. From time immemorial all the officials and ministers at the capital, and all the queens and princes, were maintained by the revenue of particular towns or districts. In official phraseology such favoured individuals were called “the eaters” of the town or district; and the names of such places formed part of the title of the minister or other person to whom they were assigned. The “eater” thus possessed in former times a certain amount of influence in the town or district assigned for his support; but this influence was personal and individual, and devoid of all hereditary character. Small, however, as was this provincial

influence, the present king has abolished the system. Ministers and officials are no longer paid by assignments of revenue, but by consolidated salaries; and it is believed that the queens and princes are paid in like manner. This measure has been borrowed by the king from the English, and is extremely distasteful to the persons whom it affects. But the idea of exhibiting the slightest opposition to the wishes of the king is never for a moment entertained in Ava.

The administration at the capital is of the same intensely official character as the administration in the provinces. There are four chief ministers of state, namely the prime-minister, who commands all the troops in and about the capital; the admiral of the war boats, who by a singular anomaly has also charge of all the wells of earth-oil which are the monopoly of the king; the commander-in-chief of all the troops in the provinces; and the superintendent of public works, such as saw-mills and machinery. These four ministers as a collective body sit in the supreme council, known as the *hlot-dau*, where the king or crown prince sits as president. Next to them are four assistant ministers who are consulted on every important point in the *hlot-dau*, but do not appear to have the power of voting. There are also four secretaries of state, and a host of officials of lower grades, generally four in number, whose Burmese titles would only prove bewildering to European eyes. Thus there are four officials who see to the execution of the orders of the *hlot-dau*; four others who bring the orders of the king to the *hlot-dau*; four others who register the royal orders; four more who have charge of the general correspondence and records; and again four more who receive the correspondence and reports from the provinces. In addition to these officials, there are about a hundred clerks, and servants and followers of all kinds.

The *hlot-dau*, or supreme council of Ava, is the most important institution in the Burmese constitution. It exercises all the powers of a senate, a high court, and a cabinet; its functions are legislative, judicial, and executive. As a senate, it possesses a constitutional power of veto to any act of the king. As a high court of civil and criminal justice, it tries all important cases, and is the highest court of appeal. As a cabinet, it exercises all the powers of government; and every order of the king is issued by the *hlot-dau* in the name of the ministers of whom the court is composed. The crown prince is, or was, until 1866, *ex-officio* president of the *hlot-dau*. A still higher throne is set apart for the king, on which his majesty occasionally takes his seat; and in the absence of his majesty, the throne is approached with all the reverence due to royalty. The last crown prince was murdered in 1866, and up to the present date, no

successor has been appointed. Accordingly, the prime minister, known as the Pakhan Woongyee, has been invested with full powers to sit as president.

The hlot-dau is a large separate building of wood situated within the palace enclosure. It has an imposing appearance in Burmese eyes, and is the centre of all official and judicial life. A constant crowd of Burmese, arrayed in the white garments which form the court costume, are perpetually passing to and fro, with documents chiefly consisting of white writing on sheets of black paper. In a word, the hlot-dau is at once the Downing-street and Westminster Hall of the Ava kingdom.

Besides the hlot-dau, or national council, there is the byadeit, or palace or privy council, which is held within the palace walls, and is still more closely associated with the king. This palace council comprises four ministers of the interior, who are the private advisers of the king, and are not connected with the hlot-dau. They take charge of all the royal revenues, and disburse the money under the orders of his majesty.

The hlot-dau and the byadeit formerly exercised some constitutional check upon the sovereign. Like the courts of the Normans and Plantagenets, they invariably accompanied the king whenever he made a progress within his own dominions. Day and night the officers of these councils are in attendance at the palace; all of them by day, unless absent by the permission of the king, whilst the half of them sleep in the palace on alternate nights. But whatever may have been the independent power of these councils in former times, it has now entirely passed away. None of the members of either would venture to offer an opinion which was likely to prove displeasing to the royal ear. Any minister who gave the slightest offence to the king, would be immured in a dungeon, if not punished more severely.

It is perhaps impossible to exaggerate the powers of the king of Ava. He is the absolute lord of the life and property of every one of his subjects; and this is regarded as a divine right. Fear of rebellion may act occasionally as a check upon his despotic acts, although it is not the people who rebel but only the princes; and as the present king has about forty sons, and no crown prince has been nominated, the country is never free from alarm. Rebellion, however, when discovered, has always been severely punished.

The administration of justice in Ava has been generally characterised as corrupt and venal; but still there is reason to believe that in cases of appeal, the hlot-dau is anxious to dispense justice with an impartial hand. The two great crimes, both in Ava and British Burmah, are murder and dacoity.

Murder is far too prevalent, but it can scarcely be prevented, although the offender may be detected and executed. Its prevalence may be generally attributed to the exceptional relations between the sexes already denoted, or to the unfaithfulness of a wife or concubine. Dacoity, again, is perhaps more common in British Burmah than in Ava territory. This is chiefly due to the fact that dacoits cross the border and commit dacoities in British territory, and dash back within a few hours; but it also may be ascribed to the remorseless severity with which the crime is punished in Ava. If a house in Ava is plundered by dacoits, the people of the nine neighbouring houses are heavily mulcted by the ministers of justice; so that every man has a direct interest in protecting the houses and property of all his neighbours. Dacoits themselves when captured are strangled and crucified; and in cases where their crime is notorious, they are flayed alive and then crucified; and it is said that under such circumstances the shrieks and groans of agony would appal the most desperate criminal.

In British Burmah dacoity can only be punished by imprisonment, transportation, or the gallows. Unfortunately the people have some sort of sympathy with the leader of a successful dacoity, in the same manner that the people of England sympathised in former times with the exploits of Robin Hood and his gang. Young men sometimes join in a dacoity, if only for once in their lives, to prove their bravery and manliness. But this state of things is chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of the frontier, and will in due time pass away. Young ladies like Maid Marian will admire dash and daring, even in a young highwayman who attacks a village; but their friends and relatives, who may suffer from such banditti, see things through a different medium, and glory more in the arrest of the robber than in the success of the marauder. The timidity of the people is also deserving of notice. Within the last fortnight forty revenue officers and servants, armed with nineteen muskets, were plundered in the open day within two miles and a half of the city of Prome by four men only, without a show of resistance.

Such, then, is the present condition of Burmah and Ava. To our grandfathers, these regions formed an empire as mysterious and remote as that of Prester John. The king of Burmah was known as the Golden Foot. The few Europeans who made their way to Ava, such as Captain Symes and Hiram Cox, and Mr. Carey, the missionary from Serampore, brought back stories of official arrogance, and of frightful cruelty towards criminals, which led the world to conclude that the Burmese delighted in torture and were utterly depraved by their religion. In the present day, the political status is altogether changed, and opinions are natur-

ally modified. The people are domestic, merry, and almost European, excepting that they are profoundly ignorant of the world, and have no idea of politics beyond the simple faith that despotism is an eternal and inexorable law. The court of Ava, like other Asiatic courts, has felt the influence of European public opinion, and is endeavouring, after oriental fashion, to conform to European ideas. The king is encouraging the influx of foreigners, and sending out young men to Europe, partly to be educated, and partly to learn something of the great world around them. Instead of rigid laws prohibiting the export of rice or bullion, we see the king himself sending down the products of Ava in his own steamers for exportation to Europe, and often transmitting large sums to Europe for the purchase of steamers and machinery. Under such circumstances it is natural that a friendship and confidence should exist between the king of Ava and the British government, which was thought impossible in days gone by, when annexation was believed to be the only measure by which the valley of the upper Irrawaddy could be opened up to European commerce and civilisation.

But Burmah and its people are best understood and appreciated by those who are familiar with India and the Hindus. Politically, it is doubtful whether the official system of administration is not inferior to the feudal and village systems which prevail in a large portion of India. But socially, the condition of the Burman is infinitely better than that of the Hindu. He is not oppressed by Brahmanical observances and caste laws. He has thrown off the debasing idolatries which Brahmanism recognizes and encourages. But still there is one thing wanting to his religion, and that is the humanising influence of a link between man and deity. Gotama Buddha was an apostle of benevolence, but not a prophet of the affections. His religion ignores the substantive idea of deity as "Our Father," and excites neither love nor fear towards a deity. It is impossible, therefore, to avoid the conclusion, that Buddhism will in due course die away like a metaphysical dream, directly the Buddhist is brought into contact with physical science. It is human sympathy alone which gives vitality to a religion; and it is on this very account that the worship of a metaphysical conception like that of Brahma has died out in India, and been superseded by the worship of mere human incarnations of deity, such as Krishna and Rama. The same fate will sooner or later befall Buddhism. When the railway runs through Burmah and Ava—when civilisation creates new wants, and science opens up new fields of thought and enterprise, the phoongyee will leave his monastery, and the aspirations of present life will wean away the intellect from its dreams of endless transmigrations and possible states of eternal repose. What religion will supersede Buddhism, no prophet can foretell; for

whilst Christianity is offered on the one hand, yet the history of religions tells us that religious revolutions are often a growth within the nation itself rather than a graft from a foreign soil. Moreover, Christianity, which has imparted a new and higher life to Europe, seems to lack the power of reaching the hearts of Asiatics ; or, rather, it should be said, that the ministers who can kindle the higher faith in the bosoms of Europeans, fail to enlist the feelings of the people of Asia. This, however, is true only in part. Whenever the Christian missionary finds a simple people worshipping idols, there he is successful in the great work of conversion ; but few of the missionaries who are sent out from home have the knowledge or the power to grapple with the belief in the metempsychosis which lies at the basis of the religions of India and Burmah. They ignore it, although they feel it to be an impassable barrier. But never since man became human has the world ever stood still. Amidst the chaos of conflicting creeds and political ideas, the human race has risen higher and higher ; and we may rest assured that humanity has yet a higher destiny to fulfil in the universe of matter than has ever as yet dawned upon our little world.

In conclusion, something might be said of the several administrators by whom British Burmah has been governed. The pioneers in British administration in this province are indeed deserving of high praise. They did their work well without running counter to the feelings and sentiments of the people ; and consequently British rule is more popular in Burmah than in perhaps any other province of our Eastern Empire. There was Richardson whose name is known throughout Burmah, but whose fame has probably never reached India. Yet he was the first Burmese scholar of his day, and translated the Buddhist version of the laws of Manu into English. It was Richardson, accompanied by General Macleod, who managed, more than thirty years ago, to go on an exploring expedition through the Shan States, and so on to Ava. Still better known is Captain Sparks, who sat as it were at the feet of Richardson, and became as good a Burmese scholar as his master. Captain Sparks is still remembered as a fluent speaker in public, and a clear-headed judicial officer ; and wherever he was employed, whether in Tenasserim, Arakan, or Rangoon, he was always regarded as a first-class man. There was Sir Archibald Bogle, who died only a few months back, who was Commissioner of Arakan nearly forty years ago, with Sir Arthur Phayre as his assistant. It was Bogle who succeeded in converting Arakan from a pestilential swamp into the granary of India beyond the Ganges. Nor must the great and good Sir Henry Durand be passed over in silence ; for had he been permitted, in days gone by, to remain Commissioner of Tenasserim, he would have left a lasting mark in the

history of Burmah. The time has scarcely arrived for alluding to living statesmen; but it is impossible to write respecting British Burmah without mentioning the illustrious name of one who is still living in his native land—namely, the late Chief Commissioner, Sir Arthur Phayre. Throughout Burmah he is still regarded as the Greek ideal—the beloved of gods and men. Of General Fytche and Mr. Eden much might also be said, but this is neither the time nor place for personal criticism of officers whose administrative careers have not yet closed; and it will, therefore, suffice to record their names.

J. TALBOYS WHEELER.

ART. IV.—THE PANJA'B RA'JA'S.

The Rájás of the Panjáb : being the History of the Principal States in the Panjáb, and their political relations with the British Government. By LEPEL H. GRIFFIN. Lahore. 1870.

IF Mr. Griffin continues the work he has so ably begun, he will do for the Panjáb what Major Tod has done for Rájást'hán. With less antiquarian lore than the distinguished author of the *Annals*, Mr. Griffin has brought to his work a far higher faculty of criticism. His memoirs of the Sikh families which constitute the bulk of the "Panjáb Rájás," are models of clearness and terseness of historical narrative, and exhibit on the part of the author considerable critical power. Mr. Griffin has apparently studied to conceal the labour which his volumes must have cost him. No history of these Sikh families has ever been written before. The materials for the work had to be laboriously dug up from the old records of the frontier agency at Ambála, the judicial proceedings of Political Agents and Deputy Commissioners, and the often fictitious family records of the Rájás. To reach the substratum of fact, mountains of rubbish had to be cleared away. Mr. Griffin hardly does himself justice in the brief and only allusion which he makes to his labours in his preface. We can well understand that the collation of his materials has been a work of years. Many will profit by Mr. Griffin's work who will never know the toilsome road he has had to clear through the jungles of vernacular records, from which he has hewn the materials for his edifice. A brief foot-note* often gives the whole pith of a family history, and records the result of the labour of weeks.

The jungles to be explored, however, were all of recent growth. No great antiquarian research was needed. The Sikh Rájás can boast of no pedigree running back into grey antiquity. They are neither soil-born nor descended from the sun or moon; but *novi homines*, upstarts of yesterday, whose history as ruling Houses is almost comprised within living memory. Our grandfathers were contemporary with their founders. Chaudhri Phul, the common ancestor of the great Phulkian families of Patiála, Jhind and Nabha, died in 1652, only two hundred and twenty years ago; but his descendants did not attain distinction till a century later. Jassa Sing, the first man of note in the Kapurthalla family, died in 1783; and Hamir Sing, the first ruling chieftain of Faridkot, died the previous year. None of these families have yet ruled

* See particularly pages 34-35, 46-52, 59-61, 64, 70, 76, &c.

for even a hundred years. Before the early part of last century, the representatives of the existing princely Houses in no way differed from the ordinary Jat population to which they belonged. But the divinity which doth hedge a king, demands a heavenly origin. The nobility conferred by glorious deeds, is a poor thing in comparison with the flow of blue-blood, even if it run in a tainted channel. Time sanctifies even robbery and murder. The Phulkian chiefs must needs therefore have a Rájput origin; and Mr. Griffin has fallen into the trap which they skilfully laid for him, and has accepted without reserve the story of their Rájput descent. In the case of the "Distiller" family of Kapurthalla, the hardihood of assertion, which traces their origin to Rana Kapur, a Rájput who migrated to the Panjáb from Jesalmir at the beginning of the eleventh century, was too manifest to command belief. But the story of the Phulkian families, which rests on no better foundation, is accepted; and we are treated in detail to the genealogical tree from the Rájá Jesal downwards through twenty-eight generations to Chaudhri Phul, the progenitor from whom the clan takes its name. It was in the sixth generation, according to Mr. Griffin, that Khiwa lost caste by taking to himself a second wife, the daughter of one Basir, a Jat zemindar of Neli; whose children were, according to Rájput custom, reckoned "as of the caste of the mother," and from whom the great tribe of Sidhu Jats is supposed to be descended. We do not question the fact of the migration of some Rájput families from Rájwára into the Panjáb; but in truth the pure Jat peasant needs no fictitious family tree to establish the antiquity of the race to which he belongs. The princely Houses indeed are a growth of yesterday; but the Jat, of whom traces are found even in the Muhammadan countries west of the Indus down to the Persian Gulf, and who form the bulk of the agricultural population of North-Western India,* entered the country with the first tide of Aryan invasion. The Rájputs are only a contemporaneous, if not a later offshoot from the same stock. Rájput descent may flatter the pride of Patiála, but confers no distinction on a true Jat. The Phulkian families sprang from a rebellious peasantry, and are no more descendants of Jesal, the Rájput, than the ancestors of Jesal were children of the moon. We do not quarrel with the pleasing fiction. It gratifies the Panjáb Rájás, and does no one any harm.

The history of the Sikhs as a religious sect, has too often been confounded with their history as a commonwealth. Ranjit Sing's remarkable career, the striking peculiarities of the people over whom he ruled, their singular force of character, their manliness and the heroic resistance which they offered to the British

* See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* II., 873-8.

arms, have combined to give the Sikhs a foremost place in the chronicles of the Indian peoples. It was natural that their success should be attributed as much to the vital force of their religious creed, as to the decay of the Muhammadan Empire on which their ascendancy was really founded. Great national movements usually spring either from deep spiritual feeling or from the total abnegation of it. They are either reformations or revolutions. Hinduism, as known in other parts of India, was effete. There was no power in it to explain so singular a history as that of the Sikhs. The persecutions to which the Sikhs had been subjected, was known to have called forth, for a time at least, a certain amount of religious fervour and devotion. The Sikh war-cry was an ejaculatory prayer. It is not surprising, therefore, that the theory of a new religious life in the Sikh people found ready acceptance; and that Nānak and his successors were believed to have given birth to a new faith destined to unite Hindú and Muhammadan in a common worship. But in truth the rise of the Sikhs was no more due to anything distinctive in their creed than was the growth of the Mahratta power. Many saints before Nānak had preached the very same doctrine as he. The creed of his followers differs little from that of other Vaishnava * sects of Upper India. Although the Adh Granth or scriptures of Nānak contains many hymns written by him and the eight succeeding Gurus, the greater part of it is a collection of hymns and prayers attributable to the founders and followers of other Hindú sects. Cunningham gives a list of nineteen Bhagats or saints who contributed to the Adh Granth; of these nearly all belong to the Ramanandis† or Ramawuts. Inspiration seems to have been chiefly drawn from the writings of Kabir. If the Khas Granth at the Kabir Chaura in Benares were carefully examined, we doubt not that it would be found to possess much that is common to the scriptures of Nānak. Whether we share the doubts of Wilson as to the existence of Kabir, and hold with him that the name of this celebrated saint may have been merely a cover to a great free-thinking movement among the Hindús, or whether we believe him to have been a great living preacher who drew multitudes after him, there can be no doubt about the mighty influence of

* Burnes tells the following curious story :—

At Rawul Pindee we had a visit from the Government officers, among whom was a Sikh priest, or Bedee, who had taken the singular vow never to repeat three or four words without the name of Vishnu, one of the gods of the Hindoo Trinity. His conversation was therefore most remarkable,

for on all subjects and in all answers, he so interlarded the words Vishnu, Vishnu, that I could not suppress a smile. This personage presented us with a purse of Rs. 200. But it appeared to come from Vishnu and not from the Maharaja Ranjeet Sing." *Bokhara*, I.—69-70.

† See *Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 36, seq. ; xvii, 238.

his name. Ignorant of their own sacred books and even of their own traditions, the Sikhs have woven into the life of Nának many of the popular legends regarding Kabir. To the legend of the incarnation of Kabir may be traced the belief in the incarnation of the first Sikh Guru.* Nának is made to defend his doctrines before Bábar,† as Kabir is said to have done before Sikandar Sháh. Like Kabir he is described as a man of simple manners. He is said to have made disciples from every caste, to have worked miracles, and to have had interviews with Elias and other Muhammadan saints. According to one tradition‡ Muhammadans and Hindús fought over his body as they did over Kabir's, and while they disputed, the body vanished from their sight, leaving only the mantle behind. The catholicity of the Sikh faith is only the catholicity of a speculative pantheism, such as is found in the writings of many Hindú saints. Nának may have both carried the Muhammadan rosary and worn the Bráhmanical thread, but the bitter hatred between Sikh and Muhammadan is of itself sufficient to shew, that the foundations of the Sikh nationality were laid in the political circumstances of the times rather than in a religious reformation. Their political creed is embodied in the later Granth of Govind Sing, the Book of the Tenth King. But the authority of these later scriptures, which were written as the Muhammadan Empire was beginning to crumble to ruin, and which are inspired with all the bitterness and hatred excited in the bosom of the last Guru, by the martyrdom of his father and the inhuman butchery of his children by the Muhammadan Governor of Sirhind,§ is by no means universally admitted. Only the Govindsinghees accept the scriptures of Govind, who taught "the sparrow to strike the

* "He was, according to a secret belief of the Sikhs, a species of secondary incarnation of the supreme deity." *Forster*, i. 254. "They believe that with a mere change of name, Nának the First became Nának the Second, and so on to the fifth in the person of Arjan Mal. They say that whoever does not recognize in Arjan Mal, the true Baba Nának, is an unbeliever," *Dabistan* ii. 254. Mohsan Fani states that in a letter he received from Guru Hargovind, the writer gave himself the title of Nának.

† It is said that Bábar was so pleased with the eloquence of Nának, that he bestowed a jaghir upon him. See *Malcolm*, p. 19. George Forster, in his charming work, mentions that Bábar being informed of the sanctity of Nának's character, treated him with

marked respect and indulgence (I. 257) Nának is even said by his credulous disciples to have invited the Mughal invasion. (*Dabistan*, II. 249). There is however no allusion to Nának in Bábar's memoirs; and although the author of the *Dabistan* lived between 1615 and 1670, and himself tells us that he was personally acquainted with several of the Sikh chiefs, knew and corresponded with Guru Hargovind, and was a personal friend of Guru Har Rai, the seventh Guru, the whole story of the discussion with Bábar must be put down as a pleasing fiction.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, I. 292.

§ The Sikhs hold Sirhind accursed. To this day every true Sikh as he passes, takes a brick from the ruins to throw into the Sutlej.—*Griffin* p. 508.

eagle to the ground." The first Granth of which the authority is acknowledged by all, and which contains the purely religious creed of the Sikhs, consists entirely of pantheistic hymns, in which all the tales and legends of Hindú mythology are reproduced. From beginning to end of it no trace of a monotheistic idea is to be found.* If the truth be spoken, the Sikh creed is a pure Hindú pantheism, and differs in no essential respect from that of many other Hindú sects. The walls of the temple of Arjan at Amritsar, are besmeared with pictures of the loves of Krishna. Every Sirdar's house is adorned with scenes from Hindú mythology. Caste, not merely as a social, but as a religious distinction, is just as strong as in the most Bráhma-riden parts of India. Hitherto the Granth has been a sealed book. The few notices of its doctrines which are given by Muhammadan writers have been accepted without question, because there existed no means of testing them. Even the priests are unable to give any intelligent explanation of their scriptures. The Sikhs are notoriously an illiterate people. Ranjít Sing, as every one knows, could neither read nor write; but in this he was by no means singular. The sword was more familiar both to chiefs and followers than the pen; and Mr. Griffin tells us (p. 177) that when the Maharajkian Sikhs were told that the practice of female infanticide was expressly forbidden in the precepts of their Guru, they replied "that it had been impossible for them during the times of anarchy that had prevailed since they had adopted Sikhism, to find leisure to become acquainted with the doctrines of their scripture." Nevertheless, it might have been expected, that in the temples at least some learning would have been preserved. But such is not the case. All worship the book,† but few even of the Gurus have read it. Every Sikh can sing verses and hymns, but none have any intelligent knowledge of the Granth as a whole. Other Hindú schools

* We state this on the authority, of the learned Dr. Ernest Trumpp, who is at present engaged on a translation of the Adh Granth which he has nearly completed.

† Malcolm (*Sketches* p. 2) tells us that the chief who gave him a copy, sent it at night, and with either a real or affected reluctance, after having obtained a promise that it would be treated with great respect. Burnes (*Bokhara*, i. 27) mentions that the copy, out of which some verses were read to Ranjít Sing on the morning of the Basant festival, was borne away wrapped in ten different covers, the outside one of which, in honour of the day, was of yellow velvet.

For a description of the ceremonies with which the book is worshipped, see *Ward's Hindoos*, ii. 275-6; also *Asiatic Researches*, xvii. 233.

There is a very sacred copy in the Library of the Edinburgh University. It is the third copy of the original Granth and was made in the time of Guru Govind. It belonged to the family of Maharájá Kharak Sing. It was found in the Fort of Kalalwalla on the capture of that place in 1848, and was presented to the University by the late Sir John Login. The original Adh Granth is said to be in the possession of the Bhais of Banuwania, in the village of Mangal of the Gújrat district.

have some pretensions to learning ; the Sikhs have none. Sanskrit is absolutely unknown to any one of their priests even at Amritsar and Anandpúr. Nának had no learning and knew no Sanskrit, neither did any one of his successors. Of Prákrit, the priests have not even heard the name, consequently no learned class has ever existed among them ; and the Adh Granth being written not in Panjábi, but in several old Hindi dialects which the priests cannot understand, is read and chanted without any appreciation of its doctrines. The book is a perfect storehouse of Hindi dialects as spoken two or three hundred years ago, connecting the Prákrit with the existing vernaculars. Its mystical and pantheistic rhapsodies will hardly repay perusal, but we anticipate most valuable additions to Indian philology from Dr. Trumpp's labours. For whatever new light is thrown, either on its doctrines or on the dialects in which it is written, we shall, as in the case of Sanskrit literature, be indebted to the labours of European scholars like Dr. Trumpp, and not to those to whom the care of the sacred books has been entrusted.

The Sikh creed was no reformation ; no return to a simple faith and spiritual life. It has no inherent principle of vitality. Dissociated from political power, the Sikh religion has already declined, and is rapidly returning to Hindúism in its worst phases. In Govind's time the religious cry was merely the watchword to which a revolted peasantry rallied, wearied with the persecutions and oppressions, the anarchy and corruption of the times ; harried and ruined by Afghán invasions from the North and Mahratta incursions from the South ; when no man could drive his ancestral plough or be certain that he would live to reap his crop. It was plunder they sought, rather than political freedom. But in earlier days the sect attracted little notice. Nának wandered doubtless as mendicants do ; but his influence was not great, nor were his converts numerous ; no contemporary Muhammadan records so much as mention him ; he did not rouse the bigotry of the Muhammadan government. Bernier, in his charming work, never alludes to the Sikhs. He could scarcely have failed to do so, had they attracted the notice of the Muhammadan government during the twelve years (from 1657 to 1669) of his residence in India, the greater part of which was spent at the Court of Aurangzib, whose camp he followed in 1665 from Dehli to Cashmere through the entire length of the Panjáb. It was in Govind's time that the Jat ancestors of the Phulkian families became Sikhs, or in other words rebels against the crumbling Muhammadan power. Any war cry would then have done as well as that of the Guru and the Khalsa. The Sikh ranks formed a veritable Cave of Adullam, to which every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves,

and where, in the language of the Dabistan * "whoever was a fugitive from his home took refuge." Every turbulent and restless spirit, every one who wished to escape either from the oppression or from the just demands of the Government, whoever had a right to assert or an injury to avenge, took the oath and was enrolled in the Dal Khalsa. "He who, like Amar Sing Majithia, could pierce a tree through with an arrow, or like Hari Sing Nalwa, could kill a tiger with a blow of his sword, might soon ride with followers behind him and call himself a sirdar†." Intrepid George Forster ‡ thanks God that "unhurt by Sicques, tygers or thieves he is safely lodged in Nourpour." He would willingly have sacrificed a moiety of his property to have had the other secure. At Dehra, he says, "I saw two Sicque horsemen who had been sent from their country to receive the Sreenaghur tribute which is collected from the revenue of certain custom-houses. From the manner in which these men were treated, or rather treated themselves, I frequently wished for the power of migrating into the body of a Sicque for a few weeks, so well did these cavaliers fare. No sooner had they alighted, than beds were provided for their repose, and their horses were supplied with gram and barley pulled out of the field. The Kafilah travellers were contented to lodge on the ground, and expressed their thanks for permission to purchase what they required:—such is the difference between those who were in and those who were out of power." So great indeed was the dread which their barbarity, unscrupulousness, and licentiousness created, that Forster saw the mere appearance of two horsemen at Sebah strike terror into the chief and all his people though shut up within the fort. Loud talk and rude bearing, so characteristic of the Sikh of the present day, are only a remnant of the barbarity of their grandfathers. True to the character recorded of the Panjáb people § in the earliest Brahmanical writings, when the Sikhs had thrown off a foreign yoke they became simply an aggregation of highwaymen, distinguished by ignorance, ferocity, treachery, hard drinking, debauchery, and the most degrading vices, redeemed only by that spirit of heroism and occasional outburst of chivalry which is found in the most savage natures, and which, when properly worked upon by good government and civilizing influences, has the making of a fine manly character and a noble people. A religious movement indeed!—nearly every House

* II. 277.

† Griffin, p. 16.

‡ Journey from Bengal to England through the Northern part of India, &c. London, 1798. The Indian part of the journey was made in the spring of 1793.

§ "Der freie Zustand dieser letzten,

namentlich die wahrscheinliche Abwesenheit der Kasten, erklärt, wie die Inder des innern priesterlich und königlich eingerichteten Landes im Alterthume die Pengäbvolker als halb unreine Geschlechter bezeichnen konnten."—Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I, 129.

whose history Mr. Griffin records was founded in murder and the blackest crime. Their most distinguished chieftains died of hard drinking.

A people so thrown together had no elements of cohesion ; universal independence left no room for obedience ; equality of rank excluded the possibility of subordination. Common danger might unite them for a time ; but that over, each man became a king as far as he could make his arm felt. It was quite as common for the Sikhs to draw their swords upon each other as upon the common foe. They were free lances and fought in any quarrel likely to bring advantage to themselves ; as often as not they would fight on both sides. There was really nothing very peculiar in the customs of the Maharajkians, as described by Mr. Griffin (p. 174), among whom "each individual claimed to be absolutely independent, and neither son nor brother remained in subjection after he was able to cultivate his share of the land." Such was the normal state of things in those days. It could not have lasted for a week had there been in Northern India any government worth the name. Nor could a serious or prolonged resistance have been offered by the Sikhs to a strong invading force. Ahmed Sháh scattered them like chaff before the wind. The Mahrattas overran the country as far as Attock. Jealousies, recriminations, and feuds ruined their strength ; disaster was invariably imputed to treachery ; they never were, or could be, a united people. Even in Forster's day their grand assembly or Gurumata was rarely summoned ; nor had the Sikhs, since the final retirement of Ahmed Sháh, been embarked in any united cause. The moment they were relieved from a common danger, Sikh society fell to pieces. Malcolm tells us that in 1805 "every shadow of that concord, which once formed the strength of the Sikh nation, seemed to be extinguished" Ranjít Sing's determination, courage, and unscrupulous diplomacy soon brought every chief, north of the Sutlej, under his subjection. The family feuds of the Phulkian chiefs invited his invasion to the South ; and the sirdars between the Jumna and the Sutlej, unable to stand alone, threw themselves on British protection. The energy and talents of Ranjít Sing fused the northern Sikhs into a powerful nation ; but it fell to pieces on his death. Internal dissensions, as much as British grape-shot, destroyed the finest native army that India has ever seen, and converted the Panjáb into a British province. The inherent quarrelsomeness of the people expends itself now in litigation in our courts ; and the family jealousies among the chiefs, which can no longer find an outlet in family wars, find expression in whispers of poison in their zanánas. Never a chief dies without rumours of foul-play. The body of the late Rájá of Nabha, who for months before his death had been in a galloping

"such, that they begged that a Thanah, or police station, might be placed in their midst, though they had always refused to admit any such post belonging to the neighbouring chiefs, and would have resisted such an encroachment to the death." In the Haryana districts of Jamalpur and Tohana there were, in 1836, no less than 122 inhabited estates, where thirty years before there had been only eleven. Few will read Mr. Griffin's history without agreeing in his conclusion "that the policy of the British Government, so far as the Sikh States are concerned, has been uniformly liberal, enlightened and just: that in no single instance has it abused its strength to oppress its weaker neighbours, but that, on the contrary, it has taken less than its undoubted right, and has decided disputed questions with a generosity and disinterestedness which will be looked for in vain in the administration of any other country."

Never was a more objectless correspondence published by Government than that relating to the comparative merits of British and native administration. What advantage Government could have proposed to itself in instituting the comparison, it is difficult to see. To doubt that India has gained in every way by British rule, that life and property are more secure, that wealth has multiplied, that education has spread, that population has enormously increased, would be such an outrageous reflection on its own intelligence, that we cannot for a moment suppose the idea to have been seriously entertained by the Government. What then was the object? Was it proposed to revert to native methods of Government, or to retreat to our ships, if opinions shewed that under our rule the people were less happy than prosperous? If they cried for a stone, were we to cease to give them bread? Were we to give them a serpent for a fish, because they asked it? Foreigners as we are, our interests are adverse to our duty, so far as it is possible for duty and interest, in the highest sense, to be in conflict. It is our duty to govern India from the higher stand-point we have attained. Our administration must take its tone from the centuries of political struggle that England has gone through. We must teach the people respect for law and right. We must shew them that rights are fixed without respect of persons; that Government is not a mere devourer of revenue; that the Government exists for the people, and not the people for the Government. Yet the more effectually we teach these political principles, the more surely do we sap the foundations of our power. Every lesson we give in the art of self-government is a fresh blow of the axe at the root of the tree. The process may be gradual, but it is sure. By enforcing laws and administrative measures that are too much in advance of the social condition of the people, however good and sound in theory, we may make our rule so

detested as to precipitate a rebellion, which for the time we should doubtless find little difficulty in suppressing. This is the rock on which, with our uncongenial, unsympathetic English natures, we are in constant danger of splitting. A Government that is too much in advance of social requirements, must necessarily be more oppressive and more bitterly hated than an obstructive Government that merely lags behind the popular demands. In England social opinion is generally in advance of the law.* Here, it is the reverse. We should therefore study to frame our administrative measures so as not rudely to tear the people from their ancient customs and time-honoured prejudices, but gradually and progressively to create higher and better social wants, and lead step by step in the way of an acceptable advancement. But we must never lose sight of the fact that every step in the progress of the people is an advance towards the point at which, however benevolent and advantageous our rule may be, we shall cease to govern India as a conquered country. If we could imbue the natives of India with the feelings of Englishmen to-day, our rule could not last over the morrow. In a state of society, then, like that which exists in India, the fact that the people are prosperous is a better test of the excellence of a Government, than the fact, if it be ascertainable, that they are happy. If we were to consult duty less and self-interest more, doubtless it would not be difficult to make our subjects more contented by leaving them more in ignorance. But we cannot thus hide our light under a bushel; we cannot govern on native methods however much the people may cry for it. *Sua si bona nōrint*, so much the better for the people; *si non*, we must still govern as we do. "But seriously to compare the British administration with those which preceded it, or with the majority of those which exist side by side with it today in India, is an insult to the intelligence. There have been, it is true, Muhammadan and Hindú princes who have ruled with strength and justice, and whose names are still held in honour. But these have been very few. Native rule in India, in former days, signified oppression of the most terrible kind; luxury and debauchery in the prince, misery and want in the people; and although much has been written regarding the preference of the people for the rule of their hereditary chiefs, the simple fact remains that whenever an opportunity has been

* "With respect to them (i.e. progressive societies) it may be laid down, that social necessities and social opinion are always more or less in advance of law. We may come indefinitely near to the closing of the gap between them, but it has a

perpetual tendency to re-open. Law is stable; the societies we are speaking of, are progressive. The greater or less happiness of a people depends on the degree of promptitude with which the gulf is narrowed."—*Maine's Ancient Law*. p. 24.

"afforded them, the people have accepted British rule with the "most unfeigned satisfaction."*

A comparison of the British administration with that of any existing Native State, would, even if it were practicable, only be misleading. The fact is that it is equally impossible to deny the British Government the credit of much that is good in all the native Governments, as it is to relieve it from responsibility for much that is evil in many of them. From the highest Native States to the lowest, from those which possess the greatest degree of internal independence, to those which are little better than British jaghirs, all enjoy the benefits of British military protection; all have been more or less influenced by British example; while many have closely imitated the British system of administration. Not one of the native Governments would be what it is, were it not for the peace which the British arms maintain in the neighbouring districts and throughout the continent of India; and for the defence which they afford to native chiefs against all external enemies and the rebellion of their subjects. Not one would remain what it is for a single day, were this protection withdrawn. British power and influence operate on Native States in two very different ways. On the one hand, being secured against invasion from without and insurrection within, the native rulers, if disposed to govern well, are left free to devote their revenues and their energies to the improvement of their States, and to develop their administration in their own way, according to their own notions, and in conformity with the social requirements of their people. On the other hand, native chiefs are entirely relieved from those fears of revolt or revolution which operate as the most effectual check on oppression and misgovernment. Instances are not few in which the misrule of Native States can be directly traced to the immunity from rebellion which the chiefs enjoy under the shadow of British protection. From responsibility for this state of things the British Government cannot escape. Oppression committed by a chief whom it protects, is oppression committed by itself. If the British Government assumes the duty of suppressing revolt, it cannot escape from the obligation to prevent misgovernment. Neither the credit of what is good in a native administration therefore, nor the disgrace attaching to oppression and misrule, can be altogether dissociated from the influence and position of the British power. The relations of the British Government to the subordinate States of India have been so little studied, that it is difficult to find terms to express them. Analogies drawn from the international law of Europe are purely misleading. Hyderabad is not France; neither is Cashmere Russia. The sooner native chiefs disabuse their

* Griffin's preface, p. 5.

minds of inflated notions drawn from* ordinary text books on the international law of Europe, the better. Speaking strictly, there is not in the length and breadth of India a single Native State that is properly the subject of international law.*

In the Sanads granted to the Phulkian chiefs by Lord Canning in 1860, Mr. Griffin gives us a notable instance of the inadmissible pretensions that may be based on the indiscriminate use of terms borrowed from the international law of Europe. Previous to the Sutlej campaign, these chiefs had exercised the sovereign power of inflicting capital punishment. For reasons which it is unnecessary to specify, this power was afterwards taken from them, whether wisely or unwisely we need not discuss; and they were forbidden to execute the extreme sentence of the law on any criminal without the approval and consent of the British Government. The result was that as the chiefs were unwilling to refer cases for confirmation, capital punishment was, in practice, never inflicted. After the mutinies, the chiefs petitioned for the restoration of their former powers; and Lord Canning decided to grant it, with other concessions, in acknowledgement of their distinguished services. The expression chosen to represent the concession was the unfortunate one of "full sovereignty." It was distinctly understood however by the chiefs themselves, that the intention of the Sanads was merely to restore to them the powers they had lost after the Sutlej war. The expression "full sovereignty" indeed was in itself quite at variance with other clauses in the Sanads, in which the succession to the States was regulated; Sati, slavery, and infanticide were prohibited; and other conditions and obligations were set forth curtailing the power which any State pretending to "full sovereignty" must necessarily enjoy. No sooner was Mahá-rájá Narinder Sing of Patiála dead, than his ministers, supported by the Rájás of Jhind and Nabha, endeavoured to set aside the dying wishes of their chief by an assertion of the right of the State, in virtue of its full sovereignty, to act in absolute independence of the British power. The evil originated in the use of terms borrowed from the conventionalities of European international law, to express relations to which they were totally inapplicable. Under the existing relations of the British Government with the Native

* "The theory of international law assumes that commonwealths are relatively to each other in a state of nature; but the component atoms of a natural society must, by the fundamental assumption, be insulated and independent of each other. If there be a higher power connecting them, however slightly and occasionally, by the claim of common supre-

macy, the very conception of a common superior introduces the notion of positive law, and excludes the idea of a law natural. It follows therefore that if the universal suzerainty of an imperial head had been admitted even in bare theory, the labours of Grotius would have been idle."—*Maine's Ancient Law*, p. 112.

States of India, "full sovereignty," as Mr. Griffin very correctly remarks, signifies no more than "such independence as is compatible with the claim which the British Government asserts to "general control, active loyalty, and regard to all engagements "which have not been expressly modified or cancelled."

The question of the sovereign power of Native States is one of such importance, that it may be worth while to pursue the consideration of it a little more at length. The relations of the government of an independent State may be twofold—to its subjects or the persons living under its jurisdiction; and to its equals, that is, to other States co-existing independently of it. The first relations form the subject of municipal or constitutional law; the second of international law. A state independent and uncontrolled in the first relation, is said to be sovereign; a state independent and uncontrolled in the second relation, is said to be a nation* in the sense in which the word is used in the text-books on international law. The quality common to both sovereignty and nationality is independence. Nationality and sovereignty however do not necessarily co-exist in the same State. There may be independence in one set of relations and dependence in the other. If there be independence in neither, the State ceases to have separate existence. The United States of America, for instance, are sovereign powers but not nations; the nationality is vested in the Union. Scotland, on its union with England in 1701, ceased altogether to have separate existence as a State; both its sovereignty and nationality merged in the United Kingdom. Whether any particular State is a sovereign power or a nation, is a question not of law or of right but of fact.

Independence admits of no degrees in respect to the same relation or attribute. It is either absolute or it does not exist. But as the relations of a State to its subjects on the one hand which

* The term nation as used in international law, meaning an independent State capable of entering into relations with other independent States, without the consent of any superior, must be carefully distinguished from the term as used in its popular sense, signifying a society bound together by unity or affinity of race, language, and customs. In the popular sense an independent State may, like the British Empire or Russia, comprise within itself many nations; and a nation may, like the Poles or the Jews, be subject to several States.

The terms external and internal sovereignty have sometimes been used to express the two sets of relations mentioned above. But the expression external sovereignty is suggestive of a fallacy. Sovereignty involves the idea of supremacy or superior relation, and is inapplicable to a relation between equals. The sovereignty of a State is its supreme and independent power over the persons and things subject to it. The nationality of a State is its freedom of political action uncontrolled by any other power.

constitute sovereignty, and its relations to its equals on the other which constitute nationality, are numerous, the State may, in both sets of relations, be independent in respect to some, and dependent in respect to others. There may therefore be various degrees both of sovereignty and nationality. For example, a State which has supreme power to frame its own laws and constitute its own judicial courts, cannot at the same time be dependent for the exercise of that particular power on the will and permission of some other State ; but while possessing sovereign power of legislation, it may be unable to entertain an army, or to coin money or to determine questions of succession without the consent of some other State to whose control, in these respects, it may be absolutely subject. Similarly in its external relations a State may have full and uncontrolled authority to send embassies, to form commercial alliances, and so forth, but may not have power to declare war. In the one respect it may be perfectly independent, while in the other it is subordinate to a superior power. A State that is independent in all its external relations enjoys perfect nationality. A State that is supreme and uncontrolled in its internal Government enjoys full sovereignty. In proportion as a State loses its independence in one or more relations, either external or internal, its nationality and sovereignty become more or less imperfect.

It is manifest therefore that no Native State within the limits of India possesses any attribute of nationality whatsoever, or can become the subject of international law ; because no State in India has any relations with its equals. They have parted with independence in every one of their relations to foreign powers, and in the language of their treaties "can enter into no negotiations with any Chief or State without the sanction of the British Government." With the extinction of international relations, international law has ceased to exist. Its place has been taken by positive law, of which the will and policy of the British Government are the exponents. Hence hostilities with the British Government are no longer war, but rebellion ; and the king of Dehli was tried as a criminal. It is equally manifest that no Native State in India possesses full sovereignty. Many of the States have parted with independence in nearly every one of their internal relations ; others have retained independence in a greater number ; but there is no State which has not parted with independence in some. There is therefore no State which enjoys full sovereignty. In which of its internal relations any State has lost, and in which of its internal relations it has retained, its independence, is again in every instance a question of fact ; and the settlement of that question depends upon, *first*,—the express language of treaties ; *second*,—the declaration which the British Government may have made of its imperial policy ; *third*,—reasonable and legitimate inferences, from the

position of the British Government as supreme and paramount power.

Let us take a concrete example. Every State that enjoys full sovereignty has, of course, among other prerogatives, the power to coin its own money, to determine its constitution, to regulate its succession, and to entertain an army in such numbers, and disciplined and equipped in such manner as it may think fit. In India however some States, like Bhownagar, have surrendered their privilege of coining by express treaty ; in others, like the Bundelcund States, the mints have been authoritatively suppressed. These States have, as a matter of fact, lost one of the prerogatives of full sovereignty. Again ; in every State of India, the British Government has, as a matter of fact, asserted its right to a voice in the succession, and its policy has been declared in Lord Canning's Sanads. In so far as they have lost the independent power of determining questions of succession, without reference to the will of the British Government, all the States of India have lost one of the attributes of full sovereignty. Then again, inasmuch as the British Government has assumed the military protectorate of India, and guaranteed every Native State against foreign invasion, it follows, as an inference from this position, that no Native State can, without the consent of the British Government, entertain a larger army than is required for purposes of internal administration and the fulfilment of its duties as a subordinate ally. As a matter of fact, then, there is no such thing in all India as a Native State with full sovereignty. The most powerful and independent of them enjoy only such shreds of sovereignty as remain after the above conditions of treaty stipulation, policy, and imperial requirement have been satisfied. It is obvious that for a proper understanding of the relations between the British Government and Native States, consideration must be given to the conditions of the paramount supremacy of the British Government, as well as to the treaties which from time to time have been concluded. That supremacy has been a thing of gradual growth. It is not derived, as has been often supposed, from any power we have inherited from the Mughals ; and it is not limited by any conditions to which our Muhammadan predecessors were subject. No doubt the destruction of the last vestiges of the Royal House of Dehli from which, as Lord Canning observed, "for our own convenience we had long been content to accept a vicarious authority," gave a reality to the British supremacy which had never been felt before. Nevertheless, that supremacy is vicariously derived from no other power. It has been established solely by conquest ; sometimes by the sword, sometimes by the mere assertion of a powerful and irresistible will, which though silent, undisputed, and peaceful, was no less a real conquest than the

supremacy obtained in war. Treaties are definitions and limitations placed upon that supremacy. They definitely prescribe a few of the positive duties and obligations of the British Government and the Native States respectively. Whatever the British Government or the chiefs have bound themselves to do, they must do; whatever the Government has pledged itself by treaty not to do, it must scrupulously abstain from doing; but in respect to whatever relations treaties are silent, the Government may itself do and require Native States to do anything that is demanded by imperial necessities. If the native chiefs only knew it, *sua si bona norint*, this supremacy is the surest bulwark of their existing privileges. It is for the advantage not only of the native princes, but of the British Government itself, that every shred of sovereignty that has been left to them should be scrupulously preserved. The British Government can no more afford to dispense with the cordial allegiance and services of the chiefs, than they could stand for a day without the support and protection of the British power. But while the British Government must studiously avoid any policy essentially aggressive, and more especially abstain from any line of conduct tending mainly to objects of remote or contingent advantage to itself: and while it must treat with the most liberal, the most generous, and the most trustful consideration, the prerogatives of native chiefs; there must, in the interests both of the chiefs and people of India, be no pusillanimous abnegation of its proper functions, but a faithful and vigorous assertion of its supremacy, and an exaction from Native States of their obligations as well as a conscientious fulfilment of its own duties. Nothing would tend more rapidly to the complete overthrow of the Native States than weak concession to inflated pretensions of absolute independence. The native chiefs will best preserve such remnants of sovereignty as have been left them, and make the most vigorous strides towards the recovery of any substantial independence in their internal administration which they may have lost, by a studious respect for the rights of their subjects, by so improving their Government as to give no occasion for interference, by identifying their interests and their policy with those of the Empire of which they form a part, and by exhibiting in a just and progressive Government what excellence it is possible for an administration to attain to that is secured from danger by all the force of the British power, but is unhampered in its progress by the formalities and technicalities which render our rule uncongenial to an oriental people.

We had intended examining the "Doctrine of Lapse," of the application of which Mr. Griffin's volume affords many instances; but the length to which this paper has already run prevents us

from pursuing the subject in any detail. It is more than probable that we borrowed the doctrine from the Sikhs themselves ; but it is not generally known, that to the Phulkian chiefs Lord Canning was indebted for the first germ of his adoption policy. Such, however, is the fact. Guided merely by the official correspondence, Mr. Griffin has fallen into the error of supposing, that the concession of the right of adoption to the Phulkian Rájás, was made by the Home Government in opposition to Lord Canning's wishes and recommendations. The truth, however, is that in the interval between the refusal of the request made by the chiefs, and the decision of the Home Government, Lord Canning's political views had undergone a complete change. It was in May 1858 that the Mahárájá of Patiala and the Rájás of Jhind and Nabha preferred their joint request that the right of adopting * an heir might be granted them. At this time the embryo even of the adoption policy had not been formed in Lord Canning's mind. He had not shaken off the traditions of his conservative advisers, or begun that celebrated progress through the Upper Provinces which forced from him the pathetic lamentation, "if I had seen things with my own eyes as I have now seen them, I " would have done many things very differently." Under the advice of his council Lord Canning had declined the prayer of the bravest and most loyal of feudatories, as being an important innovation in the customs which had always prevailed among the chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej territories. The Phulkian chiefs were accordingly informed that Government did not desire to interfere with the customs which had always obtained in their families, and did not think it necessary to enter into any special engagements on the subject. Lord Canning soon began to doubt the wisdom of the counsels by which, in this matter, he had been guided. He began to see that although the measures taken by the British Government in dealing with doubtful or lapsed successions had in many instances been liberal and even generous, "there was a haze of "doubt and mistrust in the mind of every chief as to the policy "which the Government would apply to his own State in the event "of his leaving no natural heir ; and each seemed to feel, not without

* "Trusting to the grace and liberality of the British Government, we request that in default of a male survivor in the direct line, the reigning chief may be at liberty, during his life time to select an heir from the descendants of the common ancestor of all the Houses (*viz.*, Baba Phul) and to adopt him as a son to succeed in himself and in his direct and lineal heirs, to all

"the honours, possessions and privileges of the principality
"In case of sudden death without male issue, and without making a formal adoption in the manner above stated, we request that an heir may be selected, according to his ancestral claims, by the other two surviving States from among the descendants of Phul."

"reason, that in such case the ultimate fate of his country was uncertain." Lord Canning's first impulse was to grant to those princes who had distinguished themselves by eminent service, such an assurance of the perpetuation of their States, as would exhibit to all the chiefs of India that they could best secure the integrity of their possessions by the fulfilment of their duties to their people, and by active loyalty and the faithful discharge of their obligations to the supreme power. It was in the Cawnpore Durbar of 4th November 1859, accordingly,* that the Mahárájás of Rewah and Chirkari, and the Jaghirdars of Logasi and Gowrihar in Bundelcund, were singled out from the assembled chiefs and honoured with the public assurance that "the Government would in the event of failure to any one of them of direct heirs, recognize the privilege of adoption according to the ancient customs of their respective families." The announcement was like an electric shock. Was it possible that the British Government was no longer suffering from the hateful earth-hunger? Had it really abandoned a policy which had added so enormously to its own territories and revenues? It would seem so; and the Mahárájá of Rewah in a voice trembling with emotion assured Lord Canning, that although his family had been in Rewah for eleven hundred years, the announcement he received on that memorable day had dispelled an ill-wind that had long been blowing upon him. A month later, on the 2nd December 1859, at Agra, the same assurance was given in open Durbar to Mahárájá Sindia; and Lord Canning himself tells us that "at Gwalior the news was received with rejoicing very like that which would have marked the birth of an heir." Lord Canning had evidently struck a chord that vibrated more deeply in the hearts of native princes than it had entered into the mind of any one to conceive. As he continued his tour, the policy grew and took deeper root. It was just a few days before the Durbar at Ambála, on 20th January 1860, in which he announced the concession of the right of adoption to the chiefs of Patiala, Jhind, and Nabha, that he received the despatch quoted by Mr. Griffin (pp. 250-1) in which the Home Government suggested that the right of adopting an heir might be granted to the Phulkian chiefs "as a special case" in consideration of the great services they had rendered, their long-trying loyalty and fidelity to the British Crown, and the anxiety they had evinced to obtain this boon. But Lord Canning had already travelled far beyond the narrow field of special cases. His celebrated progress had opened his eyes. He saw by what a series of miracles the British power had been saved; and what a tower of strength the loyal chiefs had been in the darkest day of trouble. He saw

* See *Gazette* of that date, No. 257, Foreign Department.

clearly that we only exhausted our strength by adding to our territories without adding to our European force; that the safety of our rule is increased* and not diminished by the maintenance of native Chiefs well affected to us; and that our supremacy would never be heartily accepted so long as our policy towards the Native States was uncertain, and our ultimate intentions towards them were undeclared. It was at Simla, at the close of his tour, that he wrote his famous despatch of 30th April 1860, in which he proposed to convey, individually, to every chief in India who then governed his own territory, and who held a position higher than that of Jaghirdar—the assurance that the paramount power desired to see the native Governments perpetuated, and that the penalty of sequestration or confiscation would be enforced only when the misconduct or oppression of a native Government was such as to be not only heinous in itself, but of a nature to constitute indisputably a breach of loyalty or of recorded engagement to the supreme power. It was not till 1862, however, that the great policy was fully worked out. Lord Canning's parting legacy to the princes and chiefs, was the Adoption Sanads dated 11th March 1862, the very day he quitted for ever the Indian shores. These Sanads constitute the Magna Charta of the princes of India. Yet it seems to us that their true significance has often been misunderstood and most needlessly limited. Their value consists far less in the concession of the right to adopt, than in the gracious assurance that Her Majesty the

* "In the time of which I speak, these patches of native Government served as break-waters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave. And in quiet times they have their uses. Restless men who will accept no profession but arms; crafty intriguers bred up in native courts, and others who would chafe at our stricter and more formal rules, live there contentedly; and should the day come when India shall be threatened by an external enemy, or when the interests of England elsewhere may require that her Eastern Empire shall incur more than ordinary risk, one of our best mainstays will be found in these Native States. But to make them so, we must treat their chiefs and influential families with consideration and generosity, teaching them that in spite of all suspicions to the contrary their independence is safe,

"that we are not waiting for plausible opportunities to convert their country into British territory, and convincing them that they have nothing to gain by helping to displace us in favour of any new rulers from within or from without. It was long ago said by Sir John Malcolm, that if we made all India into zillahs, it was not in the nature of things that our Empire should last fifty years; but that if we could keep up a number of Native States without political power but as royal instruments, we should exist in India as long as our naval superiority in Europe was maintained. Of the substantial truth of this opinion I have no doubt, and recent events have made it more deserving of our attention than ever."—*Lord Canning's Despatch No. 43A. Dated Simla 30th April, 1869.*

Queen desires that the governments of the princes and chiefs of India shall be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their Houses shall be continued. Adoption would have been a trifling boon, had Government adhered to the doctrine of escheat in other cases. No doubt one of the principal objects of the Sanads was to induce childless chiefs to make timely and formal adoptions, whereby to prevent disputes as to the succession and frustrate *zanāna* influence and deathbed pressure in the selection of incompetent or improper heirs. The Sanads accordingly guarantee the succession of an heir adopted by the chief himself in accordance with Hindú law and the customs of his race. Strictly speaking, they convey no assurances in respect to adoptions otherwise made. But everyone knows how reluctant native chiefs are to adopt while in health, or to name their successor while there is any hope of begetting children. The ceremony of adoption is generally put off till death is near, and it is then hurriedly and irregularly performed. Probably not one adoption in a hundred is ever made in accordance with Hindú law. As for custom it is impossible to say what it is. Singularities and irregularities are numerous enough; but irregularity is one thing, and custom is quite another. Whenever an adoption is made according to Hindú law or well-established custom, Government is bound by the terms of the Sanads to recognize it; but if, as is generally the case, the adoption be irregular, the Government is not so bound, and for anything in the Sanads, may accord or refuse recognition as it sees cause. Hence the value of the general assurance, that Her Majesty desires the perpetuation of the Native States of India, becomes at once apparent. It means that Chiefs will best secure the interests of their State and family by making timely and suitable arrangements for the succession in accordance with Hindú law or the customs of their race; but that Government has no intention of fastening upon irregularities in order to annex Native States, or of taking advantage of neglect on the part of the chiefs for the purpose of adding to its own dominions. The Sanads, in short, contain not only an express guarantee to recognize a duly adopted heir, but an implied guarantee, in the event of an adoption not being made, to recognize a successor who may be selected on general considerations of fitness. When the adoption is valid, the Government is bound to recognize the person adopted; when Hindú law or local custom is deviated from or broken in any essential point, the invalidity of the adoption or the deviation from law or custom may be overlooked; the son chosen may be, and, as a general rule, is recognized; but the *obligation* to recognize him is destroyed; and if there be good reasons for acknowledging the succession of another, the Government is quite at liberty to prefer

the candidate who, on general grounds, may be the more acceptable. A native prince has it always in his power, by making a valid adoption, to compel the Government to recognize the man of his choice ; but if he fail to do so, he may still die in peace, assured that the integrity of his State will be maintained.

Since Lord Canning's policy was announced, it has been the misfortune of each of the Phulkian States to lose its chief, who performed so distinguished a part in the troubles of 1857. Nabha has been specially unfortunate in the complete extinction of the ruling family. The chief, who was recently installed, was selected from a distant branch in accordance with the provisions of the Sanads. By this and many other successions that have elsewhere occurred since 1862, the princes of India have received practical assurances that their dominions will never be encroached upon, so long as they are loyal to the British crown, and faithful in the discharge of their obligations to the British Government. Might we indulge the hope that, being thus secured in their possessions by all the power of the British arms and the pledges of British good faith, they will rise to their duties and responsibilities with a new life ? We have Mr. Griffin's assurance that in the Panjáb territories, Patiala, Jhind, and Kapurthalla enjoy an administration as substantially just as that of the British provinces. Their revenue administration has been well-organized ; their judicial system has been improved ; a department of education has been instituted ; canals are under construction ; and there are many evidences that the terms of warm approbation in which Lord Mayo recently referred to the Patiala administration, when investing the youthful Mahārājā with the Insignia of the Star of India, were amply justified. It is natural perhaps to expect more vital energy in these young principalities than in the old and somewhat effete States of Rājputāna. The largest and most powerful States of India, however—Gwalior, Indore, Hyderabad, Bhopal, the Mahratta States of Bombay—are hardly older than the States of the Cis-Sutlej : some, like Cashmere, are even younger. In all of them there has of late years been visible improvement ; but the vigorous Sikh States bid fair to outstrip them.

ART. V.—INDIAN LAND REVENUE.

BOTH in India and in England the "Land Question," as it is called, is one of the foremost questions of the day. Not that there is any practical difficulty that requires a solution. The legislature has passed all the measures necessary for a redress of grievances. Statesmen have therefore abandoned the platform to *doctrinaires*; and the cry is not that this or that wrong should be remedied, but that this or that scheme will produce the most perfect Utopia. It is indeed difficult at first sight to imagine what connection there can be between the agitation which exists in England, and the agitation which it is attempted to arouse in India. True a considerable discussion was being carried on with regard to the Panjáb Tenancy Act at the very time that schemes were being propounded in England for the settlement of the Irish land question, and that one of the very best of those schemes was the work of the present Lieut.-Governor of Bengal; but here the similarity would almost seem to end. In fact, throughout the controversy, we find India constantly referred to as already a perfect Utopia. Is it asserted that all land is, or ought to be, the property of the State?—we are told unhesitatingly that in India the State is sole landlord. Do the advantages of peasant proprietorship (the word "proprietor" must be kept out of sight as inconsistent with the position of the State, and a "tenant-as-good-as-a-proprietor" substituted) require to be shewn?—there is India where scarcely any other form of tenure is known. Lastly, the doctrine is advanced, that one-half of all future increase in rents, where this increase is spontaneous and not due to the expenditure of capital, should be taken by the State; and we find that in India the State's share is usually much more than one-half, and that it virtually includes a share of the increase due to capital. On what possible subject can the most "advanced thinker" get up an agitation in India? He can do so, and has done so, in two ways. First, he can seize hold of the hated word "proprietor," and, brandishing it as a red flag before the advanced party in England, he can almost persuade them to believe, that those Indian officials who have been anxious to secure the rights of communities of peasant proprietors (whose individual holdings average less than 15 acres *) are a party of violent aristocrats bent on establishing landlordism as we have seen it in Ireland. In the second place, he can urge that although the Indian Government takes much from the land, it can and ought to take still more.

* Mr. Cust's Amritsar Report, Appendix XVII.

The "Land Question" divides itself into two totally distinct phases. The first is based on the assumption of the existence of private property in land, and the controversy which has often been so furiously raised over it has had for its object the establishment of the claims of this or that class to be considered proprietors. With this point we do not now propose to deal. The other sets out with denying any private rights; and assuming the State to be the proprietor, enquires on what terms it ought to let the land. Yet, though these two phases of the controversy appear perfectly distinct, we find the same arguments constantly advanced in the discussion of both. Thus in the first phase, which properly rests on the assumption of the existence of private property, if, as in England, the legal rights of the various classes are so clearly ascertained as to leave no room for dispute, it becomes necessary for those who advocate change to take up a different ground. To the assertion that the land belongs to a certain set of men, who are entitled by the ordinary laws of property "to do what they like with their own," it is replied that land is from its very nature different from other property, and that it *cannot* be held in absolute ownership. Any "rights" that may have been acquired in it can only have been acquired by the consent of the community; the community has therefore a perfect right to turn out the present so-called proprietors (of course paying them reasonable compensation,) and to make such arrangements for the future as may seem fit. With a view to lessening the amount to be paid as compensation, it is next argued that the "State" ownership has constantly been asserted both in theory and practice; that it is only dormant and not extinct; that consequently it may be revived without injustice, either over the present landholders or those who are to be created for the future. As to the extent to which it should be revived, opinions differ; moderate men, like Mr. Bright and Mr. Mill, advise that the land should be let in small farms at reasonable rates, and that these rates should be fixed for ever; in other words, they recommend a permanent settlement. This scheme is held by the more advanced party* to be quite inadequate:—1st, because it creates a new set of proprietors; 2ndly, because it fixes the land revenue for ever. But even the extreme party advocate nothing more than a nominal State ownership, enabling it to revise the settlement after thirty years, taking an increase equivalent to one-half of the increased net assets. This amounts practically to the same system as that which prevails in the North-Western Provinces; where there is a difference in the Indian system, it is in favour of the State; if

* *Westminster Review*, No. LXXVI, pp. 256-57.

therefore the State is already better off than the most extreme school in England would make it, even when sketching an Utopia, on what grounds can a demand for an increase of the State share be based? Obviously the first ground is to find fault with the State bailiffs, that is the Settlement Officers, and to declare that they have failed to fix a proper equivalent for the State share; but this ground is a very dangerous one; to traverse it securely requires a thorough knowledge of all the details of agricultural life; the writers of the Indian Extreme School do not possess this personally; all they can rely on is a mass of statistics which are procurable in India in any quantity on any subject, and in favour of almost any view of any subject—and a few chance conversations with officials. They therefore cannot help feeling that the knowledge thus acquired, however imposing in appearance, is anything but sound; they do not, indeed, hesitate to put forth a series of most astounding facts, but they see that there is a great danger that these facts, however truly they may believe in them, may be scattered to the winds, with all the arguments so carefully built on them. It is therefore necessary to be prepared with a second line of defence in case of a defeat on the first issue. A position is taken up to cover a retreat which is only too probable, and that position of course is that, granted a full half share (or whatever it may be) is taken, the share ought to be larger. It ought to be larger because the State is the sole landlord, and, being entitled to “do what it likes with its own,” and the land revenue being a rent-charge and not a tax, it may raise its “rents” to what it likes. Of course any intention of rack-renting is loudly disclaimed, not because the “State” has not a “right” to rack-rent, but because it is too “humane” to do so. When, however, we find it openly stated* that the policy of this school would be “to call ‘the proprietor a middleman,’ ‘to employ a *native* staff to be paid ‘on out-turn,’ to assess not on existing assets, but on the *capacity* assigned to the land by this impartial staff, ‘to lay down certain ‘inflexible rules for assessment, and middlemen not continuing ‘to hold under settlements revised according to them, should he ‘paid up the value of improvements made at their cost, and then ‘be sent about their business.’” We confess we should not be very anxious to trust ourselves to such humanity. If this programme were to be carried out, we do not hesitate to say that it would cause rack-renting on a scale the world has never yet seen; we have heard of the “enlightened self-interest” of the slave-owner, which means that if he kills his slave he will be destroying his own property; an Irish landlord was admitted by his enemies to have been occasionally a fair-dealing man, at his worst he might

* *Indian Public Opinion*, 20th June 1871.

be restrained by fear of assassination ; but both slave-owner and landlord are benevolent patriarchs compared with this " 'State' of the future." A pure abstraction, with (to quote Lord Thurlow) "no soul to be damned, and no body to be kicked"—you cannot appeal to its self-interest, because it will not believe the country to be decaying until its ruin is complete ; you cannot appeal to its fear, because its bailiff, the assessing officer, paid by a percentage, has pocketed his money and made off long before his work bears its natural fruit. If the "State's" right, as it at present stands, enables it to do all this, there can be little necessity for following the English writers in the assertion, that this right *ought* to be more than it is. There are, however, one or two obstacles which would prevent the policy of the new school from being as "thorough" as it would wish. We find, for instance, no inconsiderable portion of the country given over to a Permanent Settlement ; we find that even where the Settlement is liable to periodical revision, Acts of the Legislature (e.g. Reg. VII of 1822) have not only fixed the proportion of the Government share, but have distinctly recognized the existence of private property in land ; nay, the Government* has actually ordered its officers to *confer* proprietary rights in all cases where their existence is doubtful. It therefore becomes necessary, even in India, to assert the great doctrine that land is "incapable of becoming the property of individuals." Thus we find that although the circumstances of India and England are as radically different as they well could be, and although in India the State gets from the land more than the most extreme school in England has ventured to demand even in a magazine article, yet there is one remarkable point of agreement, and that is the desire to take still more. In the endeavour to shew that this desire is a legitimate one, both parties make use of the same fundamental arguments. The English school commences with the assertion, that an individual property in land is contrary to natural right, and this doctrine must prevail against any appeal to an existing legal status. In illustration of this dogma of natural right, it refers to the countries where the "State" still retains its position as landlord, and asserts, that even in England its rights are much greater than is usually supposed. Only one branch of the school proposes what share the State should retain in future ; and, of course, there can be no speculation as to whether the State bailiffs do their duty in assessing that share. The Indian writers, as might be expected, discuss these questions in exactly the reverse order. Commencing with a charge of incapacity or unfaithfulness against the State

* Directions to Settlement Officers, November 1853, from Secretary, Government, N.W.P. Appendix XX, No. 173A. Dated 30th

bailiffs, they proceed to lay down what the State-right really is ; and, lastly, to assert that, if it has ever been partially alienated, it must be resumed on the ground of natural right. The English order appears to us to be the best, and following it we shall proceed to discuss these propositions.

1.—Is there a fundamental distinction between land and other property ?

2.—To what extent can the State be said to have reserved its rights ?

3.—Are the rights so reserved adequately enforced by the "State's" servants ?

On the first point we are told by Mr. Mill,*—"The essential principle of property being to assure to all persons what they have produced by their labour, and accumulated by their abstinence, this principle cannot apply to what is not the produce of labour, the raw material of the earth. . . . When the 'sacredness of property' is talked of, it should be remembered that this sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. Public reasons exist for its being appropriated. But if those reasons lose their force, the thing would be unjust. * * * * To be allowed any exclusive right at all over a portion of the common inheritance, while there are others who have no portion, is already a privilege. . . . The privilege, or monopoly, is only defensible as a necessary evil ; it becomes an injustice when carried to any point to which the compensating good does not follow." Again, writing in the *Fortnightly Review*,† he observes—

"The distinction between the two kinds of property is fundamental. In the first place land is a monopoly, not by the act of man, but of nature ; it exists in limited quantity, not susceptible of increase. Now it is an acknowledged principle that when the State permits a monopoly to fall into private hands, it retains the right, and cannot divest itself of the duty, to place the exercise of the monopoly under any degree of control which is requisite for the public good." These views are repeated by Professor Cairns‡ in the same magazine. Additional arguments on the same side are advanced by the *Westminster Review* ; § viz., that if the absolute proprietorship of individuals over land be pushed to its logical extreme, it becomes incompatible with even the existence of non-proprietors ; that whatever may be the rights of a proprietor over land as it exists

* *Political Economy*, Book II. Chap. 2, paras. 5-6.

† *Fortnightly Review*, January 1870, pp 42-43.

‡ June 1st 1870, p. 642.

§ January 1870, page 111.

at present, he certainly cannot be entitled to the increased value which will arise in course of time without any exertion on his part; that he is certainly not entitled to the minerals of whose existence he was ignorant when he acquired the property.

We thus find the reasons against extending to land the doctrine of sacredness applied to other property to be these: 1—It is the original inheritance of all mankind; 2—It was not made by man; 3—It is a monopoly, and power over it may be so grossly abused, that other men may be deprived of existence. We are also invited to consider if it is right, even as a favour, to allow the so-called proprietor to receive the spontaneous increase of his land, and the minerals that may exist beneath it.

Now it sounds very magnificent to talk of "the original inheritance of all mankind." It is magnificent also to believe oneself to be "the heir of all the ages;" and one of Mr. Dickens' characters is enthusiastic on the career open to a

Soaring human boy.

But we much doubt if any banker would be inclined to advance money on such prospects. What do we really mean by this "inheritance"? Do we merely employ it as a proof that our feelings are humane, or do we intend it to be taken literally? The working men, when they hear it, naturally take it literally; and most logically demand that they should be placed in immediate and actual possession of the inheritance from which they have been so long wrongfully excluded. As for compensation to present incumbents, the idea is ridiculous; they will be treated with more than sufficient generosity if they are not compelled to pay mesne profits from the commencement of their usurpation. This is a very pleasant doctrine for the needy, and personally we are half inclined to accept it. To walk into an English nobleman's park, and to demand that our share of the common inheritance should at once be divided off to us, would save us much anxiety as to our future prospects. It is true that we have an uncomfortable suspicion, which does not yet seem to have struck our working classes, that logic is inexorable, that we should have obtained our little holding, not because we were members of a particular community, but because we were members of the human race; that our co-heirs would be very numerous, and that, if at some future day, hordes of wandering savages should visit England, we should be compelled by "natural right" to divide with them. Land belonging to *all* cannot be appropriated by any part of mankind less than the whole; logically, particular lands can be no more appropriated by the 30 millions who constitute the English nation, than they can be appropriated by the 30,000 individuals, whose present tenure is said to be such a gross injustice. Perhaps after all, our attempt to enter upon our "inheritance" would result in our descendants

becoming simple members of some nomad tribe. Surely there must be some way out of this dilemma. The English working classes would probably solve the question in a very simple and practical manner. They would say "this doctrine of 'inheritance' is very convenient as long as we are out of possession; put us in, and we will make short work of any claims, however logical, "that wandering 'niggers' may advance hereafter." We feel however that this is scarcely a chain of reasoning that would commend itself to a true philosopher; we therefore look again to see what Mr. Mill says. Alas! we find that our hopes of a pleasant slice out of an English park are pure delusions; there is to be no actual partition of "our inheritance" at all. "Public reasons exist for its being appropriated;" and all that is meant is, that if the class of the community at present in possession of the land grossly abuses its power, the other classes may put some restraint upon them. We certainly do not wish to contradict this; but we deny that it constitutes a fundamental distinction between land and other property. We hold that the doctrines of utility, so ably advocated by Mr. Mill, justify us in *all* cases in subordinating the interests of individuals to the general good; and that what we have to prove is, that the present state of things is causing a wrong, and that our interference will actually promote that good.

The second distinction drawn between land and other property is, that property is founded on the principle of assuring to all persons what they have produced by their labour, and land was not produced by man. Here, again, we find that although we cannot contradict either assertion, the distinction ends in nothing. For we are told in the very next paragraph—"But though land is not the produce of industry, most of its valuable qualities are so." It would be absolutely impossible to ascertain, even where land has always been held by the ancestors of the present landlord, how much of its value is due to nature, and how much to the expenditure of labour and capital; of course where land has been bought, it is as much the property of the purchaser as the purchase-money would have been, had it remained in the bank. Mr. Mill goes further than this, and would not deprive the present owners of land for which they might have actually paid nothing. He says—

"It is due to land-owners, and to owners of any property whatever, that they should not be dispossessed of it without receiving its full pecuniary value. * * * This is due to them on the general principles on which property rests. If the land was bought with the produce of the labour and abstinence of themselves or their ancestors, compensation is due to them on that ground; *even if otherwise*, on the ground of prescription." Should it be necessary for the public good

to remove existing landlords, they must receive "the full market value of the land, *without which these acts would be nothing better than robbery.*"

As a proof that individuals may be compelled to part with their land, instances are referred to where it is constantly taken up for public purposes. But so is other property. A house has certainly been produced by man, yet it is demolished without the slightest hesitation. Nor does the legislature hesitate to interfere with privileges of every kind, when the public good requires it. It practically makes very little difference whether land was or was not produced by man; it has come in course of time to be the property of individuals; if it is ever necessary to take it from them, this is only done after payment of full compensation; and the deed is justified, not by drawing an imaginary distinction between land and other property, but by an appeal to the doctrines of utility which apply to all property alike.

But land is limited in quantity, and power over it may be exercised to an extent which may deprive others of their natural right to exist. True, if we speak with mathematical exactness, the quantity of land is limited; but the limits of its occupation have most certainly not nearly been reached. Until they have been reached, we cannot say that it is a monopoly. As members of the human race, there is still plenty of room for us to exist; as members of a community, we may prefer to exist in our native country; to enable us to do so, some modification of existing arrangements may be necessary, but that modification must be demanded on the ground of public good, and not of natural right. And may we be forgiven if we venture to dispute the correctness of this phrase—"natural right to exist"? We cannot help thinking that any right to exist is derived from the moral feelings of mankind, and not from nature. Were we to leave the laws of nature to take their course, almost the whole of our paupers would simply perish in the struggle for existence. We save them from perishing by our poor laws and voluntary charity; we employ these means, because the feelings of humanity compel us to do so; but these feelings of humanity are as binding on the other classes of the community as on landlords, and it is absurd for the former to refer all applicants for relief to the latter. And is land the only kind of property, the owners of which can deprive the poor of their natural right to exist? The case is put* of a possible combination of the landlords to expel the rest of the nation from England. Such a scheme would be impracticable, and even if practicable, injurious to themselves.

* *Westminster Review*, January 1870, page 111.

But another possible combination occurs to us which, though perhaps equally impracticable, would not be injurious to the material interests of the conspirators. Supposing that all the rich men, feeling the difficulty of pauperism, were to resolve to stamp it out without any regard to the feelings of humanity. They keep their design a profound secret; having gathered together their resources, they buy up and instantly destroy the whole food supply of the country (reserving of course sufficient for themselves and those whom they wish to preserve.) *Their* property being money, that they have amassed by their own industry, is sacred; *they* "may do what they like with their own"; *they* have a right to buy food, and to destroy it when bought. We know that if they attempted to do so they would be murdered, and we may feel equally sure that the same fate would await the landlords if they attempted to eject the whole population of England. The liability to gross abuse appears to us to extend to wealth and influence, in whatever form it may exist, and not to be confined merely to landed property. We believe that the proper course is to assert boldly the right to deal with all abuses however they may arise, (being very careful to interfere only when we are sure that our interference will be beneficial), and to justify our action by an universal principle, not by attempting to draw imaginary distinctions, shewing that the "rights" we are interfering with are less sacred than others. We are convinced that Mr. Mill would be the foremost to assert this general principle; and we think that on further consideration, he would much doubt if there be any fundamental distinction between land and other property. We have examined all the points advanced, and we cannot see how any one of them establishes that distinction. In this opinion we are supported by Mr. Bright, who was certainly no friend to the landlords. He says *—"I believe land to have nothing "peculiar in its nature which does not belong to other property, "and everything we have done with a view to treating land differently from other property, has been a blunder."

We believe so too, and that the main reason for drawing the distinctions above noticed, was the desire to conciliate the capitalists, who might have been driven by fear of a general attack on the sacredness of property, into joining in a steady opposition to all reform of the land-laws in Ireland.

The question whether, supposing the State should buy the land from the present owners, it should fix its demand in perpetuity or not, is simply a question of the advantages and disadvantages of a Permanent Settlement. We think that no general answer can be given; whether the right to future increase should be

* April 1870, p. 427.

reserved, depends entirely on the condition of the particular country. It is obvious that a periodical revision of the demand retards industry, and that these revisions are attended with very considerable expense and annoyance to the people ; on the other hand, a great loss to the revenue may be incurred by not revising. The question is whether the gain from future revisions is likely to be greater than the expense and the annoyance they occasion ; and this depends entirely on the question whether we are now in a position to form a correct estimate of existing assets, and whether, there is any prospect of the circumstances of the country undergoing considerable change. England is less liable to change than India, and it would be much more easy to ascertain the existing assets there than here. We should therefore be inclined to advise a Permanent Settlement there ; and we would extend it to India directly the prospect of periodical increase ceases to outweigh the disadvantages of revision. If, however, a Permanent Settlement is an arrangement to be set aside directly it is to the advantage of the Government to repudiate it, we should say—"make it by all means ; you may win, and you cannot possibly lose by it." As to minerals, they belong at present undoubtedly to the owners of land ; when the State has bought the land, it may reserve the right if it likes. Against the policy of its doing so, there is this to be said ; the discovery of minerals is an undoubted good to the country, but the search for them is attended with considerable expense, and unless large hopes of profit in case of success are held out to the landowners, they will neither search for minerals themselves nor allow others to do so. If any royalty is to be fixed, it should be carefully fixed at a rate which will not discourage enterprise.

Our conclusion from a review of the first proposition is, that the political economists are wrong in attempting to maintain that the laws relating to free trade, free contract, demand and supply, do not apply to land as well as to other forms of property. We think they should have admitted this equality of application ; and have insisted more clearly on the fundamental principle of their science, which is that these laws only profess to teach us how the production and distribution of wealth is regulated ; they do not profess to furnish us with a formula for the solution of all social problems ; whilst they shew us the natural result of interference with general laws, they leave it to the community to say if there are any special circumstances which would make such an interference justifiable.

II. To what extent has the State reserved its right in the land ?

First of all, what is the State ? Louis XIV. said it was himself ; and in doing so, he fairly represented the views of absolute monarchs

on the subject. In the present day we are accustomed to quote his saying as evidence of the darkness of his times ; but have we really advanced much beyond his doctrine ? It is said that an eminent divine, in discoursing on the benefits of religion, observed quite naïvely, that when he said religion, of course he meant the Christian religion ; when he said the Christian religion he meant the Church of England. We fear that the views of many professedly liberal writers are equally narrow ; when they say the "State," they mean the People ; and when they say the "People," they mean that section of the community to whom they belong personally, or whose favour they wish to gain. Thus the *Westminster Review* * complains that "the people have hardly yet awakened to the knowledge that *they themselves who work and suffer are the State.*" By working and suffering it really means "living by weekly wages ;" in other words that the State is the artisan class, by whose favour the writer hopes to be able to carry out his different theories. Now it is evident that such a definition of the State puts the Indian school in a dilemma ; they cannot reject it openly, because it is one of the "ETERNAL TRUTHS" of the party they wish to conciliate in England ; yet they know that if an Indian Parliament were elected by manhood suffrage, the abolition of the land revenue would be the one measure which would be carried unanimously. No strict definition of the "State" is attempted, and this vagueness is most convenient. It enables us to reap the benefit of the exactions of Oriental despots, on the plea that they were not exactions but a "reservation" of the rights of the "State" ; whilst we do not scruple to advocate the repudiation of concessions made by the English Government, on the plea that as the Government was not the "community" it had no power to give away our common "inheritance." When we state the matter in a few lines, the inconsistency is so glaring, that its authors will probable deny that the representation is correct, and possibly they may be themselves unconscious of its existence ; but there is truth in the old saying that "many a fallacy which when stated as a syllogism, would not deceive a child, has "deceived half the world when scattered through a number of "well-written volumes." And this fallacy which arises from the double meaning given to the word "State" is found even in England. Do we want to throw a further burden on the land ?—We are told that by the law of England, the land belonged to the sovereign, and that the so-called proprietors are merely tenants on conditions imposed by him, which may be enforced to their full extent, as they existed in feudal times. Is it pleaded that the sovereign, George III., fixed those conditions as a tax of 3s. an acre in perpetuity ? The reply is, he could not do this, because the land belongs to the people.*

The question of how far the State rights have been reserved in England is not one of much practical importance, for all reasonable men (like Mr. Mill) admit that the Act of George III. has settled the matter; and that the present arrangements cannot be disturbed without compensation to those who possess vested interests. The doctrine that the land tax should be at once enhanced, is only maintained by that extreme faction which is prepared to lead the working classes to an actual division of their common "inheritance." The historical interest of the question is very great, but our space forbids our dwelling on it at any length. For a good account of how the existing state of English land tenures has arisen, we would refer our readers to Sir H. S. Maine's "Village Communities,"* and two most interesting articles contributed to the *Fortnightly Magazine* by Mr. F. Seebohm.† We would briefly state that we quite agree with Sir Henry in his belief, that the communal tenure originally prevailed largely, if not universally, and that the institution of Lords of the Manor arose from encroachments due to causes which cannot here be detailed. We accept it as certain that the Norman Conquest did not find England a *tabula rasa*, ready to receive in its entirety the impress of the feudal system; we believe the resistance to that system, or rather the assertion of the old communal rights against the new Lords of the Manor to have been long and general; and so far successful, that on the decay of the feudal system, the tenants very generally effected their enfranchisement, and formed the class of small freeholders whose disappearance is so much lamented. This disappearance we believe to be due, not to the encroachment of the great landlords, but to the application to land of the commercial principles of free trade. As to the rights reserved by the State under the feudal system, we are very certain that whatever the "State's" share may have been, it was "reserved," not for distribution amongst the artisans, but as that share of the booty which belongs to the captain of a robber band. Before quitting the subject of the "reservation" of "State" rights in England, we must call attention to the peculiar way in which it affects the memories of its students. We are asked to revive the feudal imposts on land, and a detail of these imposts is given with the most remarkable accuracy; when we look for the manner in which the "State" "reserved" its rights over *other* classes, we find the silence astonishing. Not a word is said of how commerce was fettered till it was almost annihilated, or how individual traders were plundered until they were reduced to beggary. If we are certain of any single proposition, we are

* Reviewed in the *Critical Notices* at the end of the present number of the *Calcutta Review*.—EDITOR.] † *Fortnightly Magazine*, January and February, 1870.

certain of this, that if the feudal system were to be revived in its integrity, the greatest, if not the only sufferers, would be the trading and working classes. No one with any pretensions to statesmanship will assert that obsolete laws should be revived against only a portion of the community.

We shall have no further occasion to refer at length to the English school of writers. We have said that the only connection between them and the Indian school, is the desire to throw more taxation on the land; but in making this assertion, we must in justice acknowledge, that this desire can only be attributed to the most violent faction of the English school. The doctrine of this faction is that the working classes are the State, because if they unite they can return the great majority of the House of Commons, and overawe by tumult the House of Lords and the Crown. In other words, physical force is on their side; we do not deny this; we merely remark that on this ground the worst oppressions of the feudal Barons were perfectly justifiable. But the really eminent men, like Mr. Mill, are free from this charge. They believe that it would be greatly to the advantage of the community if certain schemes for the tenure of land were carried out; for the carrying out of these schemes, it is necessary that existing landlords should be turned out, and to prove that the community may eject them, an attempt is made to draw distinctions between land and other property. We believe the attempt to be a failure, and we see that its author admits it to be so practically, for it is acknowledged, that if existing landowners are deprived of their rights, they are entitled to receive the same compensation as the other owners of property. We may believe Mr. Mill's schemes to be visionary, and that if carried out they would not really benefit the community; but we cannot say that their object is to throw all the public burdens on a single class.

How far has the State reserved its rights in India? We feel a torrent of criticism will be poured on us for thinking it necessary even to ask this question. No dogma has been more emphatically asserted, or more generally received (by those whose interest it is to receive it), than the one which maintains "in India the State is the sole landlord." If constant repetition, and a plentiful use of capitals and italics can make any dogma true, then this one is true. Whether true or not—its utility is so obvious, that even those who may have scarcely believed it, have hardly dared to confess their heresy. It enables us by speaking of Land Revenue as a reserved rent charge, not only to prove that India is the most lightly taxed country in the world, but to demand that this revenue might be raised indefinitely on the ground that every landlord has a right to raise his rents. We know the storm we shall excite, not only amongst the orthodox, but amongst those latitudinarians who believe

that at any rate the present doctrine is one "very full of comfort;" but still we must ask, is this dogma true? Is not this "reservation" of rights to the "State" as much a fiction as "the original compact" between the King and people," by reference to which a Parliament unwilling to admit that all forms of government must be tried by the standard of utility, attempted to justify the expulsion of the Stuarts? On this point we must be allowed to quote the words of a very able contributor to this *Review*.*

"It is true that in most Asiatic countries, and in India amongst others, the land has been regarded from very remote times as the principal source of the public revenue; but that circumstance in itself furnishes no ground for supposing that our Aryan ancestors, who lived a life not very dissimilar to that of the denizens of the backwoods of America, thought, like the metaphysical free thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that the earth is the peculiar property of the public, and that whoever takes more land than is actually necessary for his bare sustenance, takes it subject to a public lien."

To seriously maintain that they did so think and act, is little less than absurd. Certainly the Land Revenue has been collected for so long a time, that we have no direct evidence of its origin; but there are many circumstances which would point out clearly how it must have arisen. The earliest information regarding India shews it to have been held by village communities; are we to believe that these communities voluntarily set apart a certain portion of the produce of the land for a "State" which had no existence? That in course of time individuals, or tribes, should be raised to power though the influence of "natural selection" is only what we should expect; and we may be quite certain that they would use that power to extort, for the purposes of idleness and luxury, contributions from their fellow-creatures? Is not this what really took place?† Was the share taken by the ruling power a fixed one? or did it vary with the conqueror's power to take? and how was "this reserved rent charge" expended? By the "State" for the public good? or as we saw in England, was it treated by the captain as his own share of the plunder? It was absolutely necessary for him to keep up a staff of collectors, and an army to defend his position; after doing this, did he squander the surplus in vanity and sensuality or devote it to the good of the people? We do not wish to deny that some of the sovereigns of India were wise and good men; but we feel sure that the wisest and best of them all would have disposed of a claim to "common inheritance" as summarily as the most hot-tempered Norman prince. It will be objected, what

* *Calcutta Review*, April 1871. + Mr. Campbell's *Irish Land*, p. Article by Mr. C. N. Bose. 17.

is the meaning of this argument? No one would deny that many of the Muhammadan princes wasted the public revenue. You acknowledge, as a matter of fact, that the ruling power did take a large—almost the whole—surplus produce of the soil. We answer, our object is to shew that your talk about the “reservation” by the “State” of a “certain share of the rental,” to be expended for the benefit of the “community,” is based on a complete misrepresentation of the actual facts of the case. We admit that the most powerful man in the country *did* take, for his own private enjoyment, as much as he could extort from his weaker neighbours; these weaker neighbours were mainly agriculturists, and in the majority of cases his extortions left them little more than a mere subsistence. And yet, even when he had extorted the uttermost farthing, he was still far from being sole landlord. The location of tenants, the planting and cutting of trees, all those marks of proprietorship which we call manorial rights, still belonged to the village communities; and it was only when the oppressions were more than they could bear, that the local official was able to interfere in their internal concerns. When the oppression was excessive, its natural effect was that members of the community abandoned their holdings, and wandered elsewhere in search of subsistence; the residue of the community might have been tolerably strong, and in this case they would arrange for the cultivation of the abandoned lands by their dependents and relations; the exactions might have been so great, that the community became utterly broken, and in this case the local official would, to prevent a falling off in his revenue, give the land to outsiders. Does not the actual state of the country thoroughly bear out these remarks? Do we not find that the Bombay Presidency is the one in which the Government is most nearly in the position of a landlord, and that the reason is, that the country just before the English rule, had been over-run with marauders calling themselves “States” until old landmarks had been almost obliterated? And even then, do not more recent and minute researches shew us that traces of these landmarks still exist? Have we not only recently discovered in Madras, that our ignoring the existence of communities was a great mistake, and that most of our official papers based on the “ryotwari” system were worse than valueless? Can any one deny that both in the North Western Provinces* and the Panjáb†, the village communities exist in full vigour at the present day, and not even the British Government could destroy them by an open attack? ‡ In Bengal itself, is not the real blot on the Permanent

* *Report on the Administration of the Panjáb*, 1853-6, p. 22.

† Mr. Colvin's Memo., p. 14.

‡ Their destruction by an insidious attack is not so difficult. The plan is this. (1) Pass a law elevating

Settlement, not that it parted rashly with State rights, but that it overlooked the rights of the ryots who were, at least in many cases, the old proprietors? Any claims of the State to be considered a sole landlord, rest not on any imaginary reservation by the "community" of a certain share of the produce for public purposes, but in the simple fact, that when its extortions eventually caused the death of its victim, it succeeded to his estate in default of other heirs. We admit, as we have said, that the "State" appropriated as much as it could of the surplus produce of the soil, but we entirely deny that it did so with the consent of the "community," or that its conduct was in accordance with the "eternal fitness of things." And in India, as in England, the manner in which this study of the land question affects the memory is most extraordinary. Careful details are given us of the probable amount received from the land by Native governments, but no information is afforded of how they levied their License and Income taxes. Do we not know that wherever they found commerce they taxed it till they almost killed it, that when they wanted a contribution from any persons supposed to be wealthy, their manner of obtaining it was a "model of simplicity"? Why do we not say, with reference to these exactions, "that in consideration of the security afforded by the State, which alone rendered commerce possible, the State reserved a certain share of the profits for the public good?" Why do we not assert that the English Government, not being the community, had no power to alienate this portion of our inheritance? Are we to demand that intolerable burdens shall be retained on one class of the community, and taken off from other classes? Is this relief to be regulated according to the capacity possessed by each class for making itself heard? Is a tax to be remitted entirely, if the class opposed to it can get six members of the House of Commons, whose votes are necessary for a Party division, to wait on the Indian Secretary?—and another tax which affects millions to be doubled simply because those millions are unrepresented?

Leaving the study of the Native fiscal policy, which an European statesman would scarcely taken as his model, let us see how the English Government regarded the matter. They succeeded to the full prerogatives of the Native Governments, and could of course have continued the whole of the public burdens. They did not do so, because they saw that the country was utterly unable to support these burdens. How did they proceed? Did each member of the Government commence a series of essays to

to an equality with the proprietors then pay the proprietors a nominal sum for improvements and "send those who have hitherto held only on sufferance. (2) Fix the assessment at them about their business."
 - a sum which will ensure its rejection,

prove that this or that burden was not a tax, but a reservation by the community of its rights? Fortunately not. They were sensible, practical men, and lightened the burden where it pressed most heavily. As the representatives of the "Company of Merchants Trading to the East-Indies" they were naturally most alive to the pressure of commercial burdens, but their treatment of the land was by no means unfair. We do not find great proclamations announcing that the State is the sole landlord, nor have we elaborate minutes to prove that it is good for the country that the State should, either as a tax or as a "reserved share," absorb the whole of the net produce of the land. It is true that in Bombay the anarchy had been so great, that the position assumed by the State might theoretically be called a landlord's; but the Government took care by introducing a system of assessment which, though it deals with the individual instead of with the community, places the cultivator in much the same position as the peasant proprietor of the North-West, to render this theory practically harmless. In the Bengal Presidency, which is the special object of the "advanced" school's attack, this sole ownership was not even asserted. We know what was done in Bengal Proper; and, as we have stated, the mistake there was that we omitted to protect the real proprietors. Mr. Campbell says * that our mistake in favour of the large zemindars was not so great as is commonly supposed; these men had in many cases held their position for generations, and could not have been entirely passed over. This is true; but whilst treating the zemindars with every consideration, we might have thoroughly protected by sub-leases the actual holders of the land. We learned experience; and when we came to settle the North-Western Provinces, the settlement officers were especially directed by Reg. VII. of 1822 to make the fullest inquiry into the interests of all classes in the land. In the preamble the Government declares, "that it is its wish and intention that, in revising the existing settlements, the efforts of the revenue officers should chiefly be directed, not to any general and extensive enhancement of the jumma, but to the objects of *equalizing the public burthens*, and of ascertaining, settling, and recording the rights, interests, privileges and properties of all persons and classes owning, occupying, managing, and cultivating the land." This evidently shows that the Government considered the land to be owned by individuals, and the land revenue to be a public burthen.

Throughout the Regulation, reference is constantly made to "proprietors;" and if there were any doubt on the subject, it is set at rest by the manner in which these men are to be treated, if they

* *System of Land Tenure.* Published the Cobden Club.

refuse to engage on the Government terms. We have seen that in such a case of refusal, the new school will simply "send them about their business." The old school said * "the proprietors of any estate let in farm, or held khas, shall be entitled to receive malikana . . . not less than 5 per cent, and not more than 10 per cent on the net amount realized by Government." It is also provided† that no farm shall be for more than 12 years, and ‡ that proprietors may continue to cultivate their own lands. Not only was this right of property recognized in the case of cultivated lands but it was extended to the wastes which might have been appropriated without much actual hardship. "Where § the land belonging to, or adjoining any mohaul is very extensive, so as to considerably exceed the quantity required for pasturage, or otherwise usefully appropriated, it shall be competent to the revenue officers to grant leases for the same to any persons who may be willing to undertake the cultivation, . . . and to assign to the zemindars, or others who may establish a right of property in the land so granted, an allowance equivalent to ten per cent. on the amount payable to Government by the lessees."

Can any recognition of proprietary right be more explicit? Can any one maintain, in the face of this, that the State is the sole landlord? What was the view taken by the officers charged with carrying these regulations into effect? We find the greatest of them all, Mr. J. Thomason, saying,|| "it may happen, and in some parts it is not unfrequently the case, that there is no party to claim proprietary right. Under such a system, as has been described to prevail in Native States, it would not be surprising, if all proprietary right were sometimes extinguished. * * * * The Government, however, has no desire to retain the proprietary right in its own hands, and in such cases it commonly confers the right on any one who, by local influence or by successful exertion in the management of the township, may have a preferential claim to the indulgence." Of course where proprietary right had not been extinguished, it was most scrupulously respected. What was the case in the Panjáb, about the "wanton sacrifice" of whose revenues we are asked to feel so indignant? We find there ¶ the cultivators are essentially peasant proprietors. "There are no farmers, or middlemen, generally, no great landlords. As a rule each man owns and tills his own glebe, upon which he pays the revenue, and pockets all the profits. In some countries the profits are divided: a part goes to the tenant, and a part to the landlord.

* Reg. VII of 1822, V. 2.

† Clause III.

‡ Clause V. 2.

§ Clause VIII.

|| Directions to Settlement Officers, page 7.

¶ Administration Report, 1853-56, pp. 22-23.

"But in the Panjáb one and the same man is usually absolute proprietor, and generally the sole cultivator, though he may occasionally lease out a few fields to tenants." It is for respecting these rights, and trying to prevent the fields "occasionally leased" from becoming permanently alienated, that the Panjáb settlement officers are accused of favouring "landlordism;" and their opponents, for wishing to send peasants about their business, ask to be called the "Ryots' Friends."

The extracts that we have quoted are all of them from official records; and they appear to us to prove beyond a doubt, that throughout the whole of the Bengal Presidency the State, as represented by the English Government, has most distinctly repudiated the dogma that it is the sole landlord. It has treated the land revenue just like any other tax; that is, not as an immutable share "reserved" from the beginning of all things, but as a public burden to be adjusted according to the ability of the people to bear it. It must be defended not by "tall talk" about the "Property of the Commonwealth," the "reserved" share of "our common inheritance," but by those principles on which alone any tax is defensible. Without going into a detailed examination of the various possible ways of raising money, we should say that the first principle undoubtedly is, that no more money shall be raised than is actually required, and that when we advocate expensive philanthropic schemes, we must most carefully assure ourselves that the community will be benefited more by them than it will be injured by the necessary taxation. The next point would be to raise the money required with the least annoyance; and for this reason an old established tax is infinitely preferable to a new impost, however much more theoretically perfect the new one may be. We see this in the case of the Income Tax. What is more excellent in theory, and what more oppressive in practice? We make these remarks because we know that we shall excite opposition, and that our opponents will either misunderstand or misrepresent us. They will immediately raise the cry that, having proved the Land Revenue to be a tax and not a rent charge, we are agitating for its repeal. We distinctly say we do nothing of the kind. We defend the tax on the ground that the money raised by it is actually required, that the tax is paid willingly, and collected with little expense; that it falls on so large a number of people that it can scarcely be called an unequal tax, and even if it were, "a very considerable degree of inequality is not near so great an evil as a very small degree of uncertainty."* The degree of uncertainty attending all direct taxes in India is by no means small.

* Adam Smith.

But whilst we consider the land a most valuable and legitimate object of taxation, we certainly hold that we must carefully prevent the tax from becoming oppressive. What amount can we take without oppression? The *Indian Economist** would have us believe that the proportion of $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the gross produce has almost been fixed by Divine wisdom. We are told, "at all events our conviction is profound, that the revolution by the young and inspired Hebrew minister, was suggested to him by divine wisdom, and with these views its study becomes to us a subject of deep and peculiar interest. The minister availed himself of the desperate condition of the people to obtain a State proprietorship of the soil. The moderation with which the claim was asserted is seen in the giving back of the land to the people, burdened simply with the condition, that a fifth part of the produce should belong to the State." Now we were under the impression that Joseph was represented as re-arranging an old tax on a more liberal basis, not as taking advantage of the necessities of the people to extort from them an entirely new tax, to be squandered on the pleasures of a corrupt court. In the former case he would deserve our applause, in the latter we should say that Empson and Dudley were in comparison just and liberal ministers. Is it true that the population of Egypt consisted originally of independent freeholders, and that taking advantage of their desperate condition, an inspired Hebrew minister effected "a great fiscal reform"? We confess that we never heard a more ingenious euphemism; we should have said (if the *Economist's* statement of the fact is correct) that this taking advantage of the desperate condition of the people, would disgrace a rapacious bunniah or a clever but unscrupulous Jewish attorney.

This is what the *Economist* wishes to see taken in India; we have no objection, because we are arranging an old tax, not imposing a new one. What then is the standard that the settlement officers have adopted? We find that they used nominally to take 66 per cent of the net, *i.e.*, $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the gross produce; this is more than the *Economist's* demands, and what is more to the point it was more than the people could pay. A nominal standard of 50 per cent. net assets has therefore been fixed; but Mr. Colvin (para. 10) most clearly shows that in reality we take 60 per cent, *i.e.*, that only $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the net produce is left to the proprietor. The result is surprising; we have been arguing at length on the nature and extent of the Land Revenue, and here we find ourselves uniting with a school we thought opposed to us, in demanding exactly the same proportion of produce of the soil. But we base our demands on very different grounds. We propose to take the money because it is really wanted, and

* April 15th 1871.

we know of no way by which an equal sum could be raised with so little annoyance; we believe the burden to be moderate; if in course of time it is proved to be too heavy, it shall be revised in accordance with the principles of utility. Our friends, or opponents, demand the money, because—1, the amount of the tax has been the subject of divine revelation; 2, it has been “reserved” by the “commonwealth;” 3, the “State” is the sole landlord. We reply—“your inspiration we doubt, it would compel us to levy the tax even when not required, and to hand over the surplus to Her Majesty for her own private use; and as for your history, we say boldly that the “commonwealth,” which originally “reserved its rights,” and is now “sole landlord,” exists only in your imagination. Whilst we agree with you in taking a standard of half the net assets as a basis for the assessment, we entirely differ on the mode in which this standard is to be applied. You say that this standard is to be worked up to at any cost; we prefer to abide by the views of the fathers of the revenue system. They tell us, “the settlement officer should not harass himself to attain perfect accuracy; nor, when he fancies that he has attained it, should he treat this as any certain basis on which to found his settlement. *It is better to acknowledge at once that the operation is not one of arithmetical calculation, but of judgment and sound discretion,* and to proceed openly on that assumption.”*

III. Do the “State’s” servants adequately enforce these “reserved” rights?

For all practical purposes this is the most important of our three issues; and our only regret is that want of space prevents us from going as fully into detail as we could wish. We have seen that the Government demand, whether we call it a tax or a rent-charge, has been fixed nominally at half, really at 60 per cent. of the net assets. To ascertain what these assets are, and to fix a money-equivalent for the Government share for 20 or 30 years, a special class of officials called “settlement officers” is appointed. These gentlemen are described by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces† as “the picked men of a picked service;” and the *Indian Economist*‡ pronounces them “the finest staff of administrators the world has ever seen.” It is true that the Panjáb critic § is not so complimentary; he says they are the “very reverse of the best, cleverest, and most experienced officers;” but we may console

* Directions for Settlement Officers, para 51.

‡ December 15th, 1870.

† Speech in Council, 6th April 1871.

§ *Indian Public Opinion*, August

ourselves with the reflection that a Panjáb fool is probably even superior to the "able officers" of another province. If these men cannot ascertain the fair equivalent of the Government share, we may be sure that no one else can. If they tell us they have fixed this equivalent to the best of their ability, is there any *prima facie* reason for distrusting them? Certainly they have not that incentive to impartiality which would be afforded by "paying them by a percentage on the out-turn;" and they are so wanting in a becoming deference to their superiors, that they would defend an assessment that they believed to be just even against the criticism of a Member of Council. Still they are human; they are mostly young, and therefore sanguine of the future; they are Englishmen, and not likely to undervalue the increased prosperity caused by English rule; though not time-servers, they have an honourable ambition to rise in their service, and they know that there could be no surer way of attracting the favourable notice of Government than by proving clearly that the assessment of the district under settlement might fairly be doubled. Our fear would therefore be that their estimates might be somewhat too high. But the fear appears to be the other way. These excellent officers are wholly led astray by a maudlin and foolish philanthropy—maudlin, because it favours the "malgoozar," a creature undeserving of sympathy—and foolish, because it entirely fails to effect its object. They have further discovered that the road to Government favour is to fix their assessment at a few annas an acre; they therefore take as little as possible, and apologize for taking even that little. On this ground attacks have been made on their proceedings first in the Central Provinces then in the North-West Provinces, and lastly in the Panjáb; we will proceed to examine how far these attacks have been successful.

Before reviewing them in detail, we must notice that in all cases the plan of attack is the same. First comes a flourish about the increased prosperity of the country under English rule; then a series of astounding figures, giving the total value of the gross produce, cost of food, &c., is evolved from the inner consciousness of the attacking general, proving the assessment proposed to be ridiculously low; a few isolated facts are then mentioned corroborating these figures; and lastly the Viceroy is enjoined, with alternate threats and entreaties, to refuse his sanction, and to save the "commonwealth" from impending destruction.

It was on the Central Provinces that the fury of the storm first fell. We cannot review all that has been written on the subject, but the attack on the Nimar (December 15, 1870) is a very good specimen of the others. After the usual compliments, we are given a tabular statement showing that the settle

ment officer himself estimated the value of the annual harvest at 34 lakhs; therefore the Government share at $\frac{1}{3}$ th would be 6 lakhs; but the settlement officer takes less than two lakhs; therefore his assessment is wrong on his own showing. But, we are next told, this estimate of 34 lakhs is much too low; the real value of the harvest is at least 60 lakhs; and the State could easily take 10 lakhs. But it does not take two, *i.e.*, even $\frac{1}{3}$ th of its proper share. This picture so infuriates the critic that he becomes almost incoherent; he raves about Muhammadan law, State rights, Lord Cornwallis's settlement, Saxon conceit; and finally demands for the State, the whole of the "true rent," which would otherwise be taken by a class of idlers called landlords, "who, as all experience shows, are the great hinderers of good agriculture in all lands." Now we have not the settlement officer's report before us, nor have we seen any reply from him; but there are one or two points on which we should like a little further explanation before we condemn him absolutely. In the first place we would remark that all references to gross produce are fallacious, because the Government does not take any actual share of this produce. There can be no doubt that if it actually took $\frac{1}{3}$ th part of every crop on this ground, it would take infinitely more than it does now. This is why native Governments can get so much more out of the land than we do. We need not now consider whether it would be advantageous, or even possible, for the English Government to take in kind; and we must not argue as if it did. In the next place we would warn the *Economist*, that if he intends to exact the full rights of the State, he must be careful not to let his slaves get too fat. If he once lets them taste the comfort of a higher standard of living and freedom from debt, he will be no more able to get them to pay the "share due by Mahomedan law," than he will succeed in inducing the citizens of London to revert to the simple manners and exorbitant imposts of the feudal times. Bearing this in mind we should look rather to the ratio of the increase or decrease of the new assessment, and how far it agrees with changes in the condition of the country, than to general estimates of produce, however carefully these might be made; for we know very well that the assessment is not imposed on the whole district in a *lump sum*, but on each village in detail; in none can it exceed the authorized standard, in many it must fall far short of it; as an instance of why it must thus fall short, we will give the most simple case that occurs to us. A village has been paying for 15 or 20 years, a jumma of 200; it has prospered greatly, of course dividing all the profits amongst its community. You come to revise the settlement, and you find that on *paper* the village should pay 400 or 600. But you can't get it because you are dealing with men and not with pieces of paper

your slaves have got too fat ; they have been appropriating your profits, and now look on them as their right. And under a money-settlement they must get fat or die. You know that thirty years hence, things will be probably very different to what they are now. If you fix a jumma, which will really fairly represent 60 per cent. of the net assets *then*, you are fixing what cannot possibly be paid *now*. If you fix what can be paid *now* fairly, it will not amount to anything like 60 per cent. of the assets 30 years hence. On the strength of getting a larger share of the assets, the people will have either raised their standard of living, or increased in number, causing a more minute subdivision of the land. It is quite impossible to reduce them to their former condition. The only way to make your serfs know their place, and to reserve to the "State" its immemorial share, is to go and cut that share yourself each harvest. We see then that the actual total must necessarily fall far short of the paper total of the jumma, and we should test that jumma not by comparing it with an imaginary estimate of the cash value of the "immemoria¹ share," but by seeing if, all things considered, the settlement officer had taken as fair an increase as could be reasonably expected. But we are not told whether there has been an increase or decrease. Another point is, when we have ascertained the surplus produce, we must still see amongst what classes this surplus has to be divided. This is noted by Mr. C. A. Elliott when he says, "as to Nimar you say nothing about *tenures*." The mention of this horrible word throws the editor into a violent passion. "We say nothing of tenures. "Why! We simply refuse to recognize them *—we demand their "abolition ; we say that their creation is an outrage, and that the "men who have assumed a right of alienating one-half of the State "rights in the soil, should see their work reversed before their "eyes." Now it is all very well for a gentleman at Bombay to shut his eyes and dance about his office, exclaiming that he can't and won't recognize any other tenure than that of the State serf ; officers who have to carry on the practical administration of the country must take things as they find them. We cannot now discuss the question whether Sir R. Temple was right in recognizing proprietary rights in the Central Provinces. He *did* recognize them, and the settlement officer cannot ignore them. It is the settlement officer's and not Sir Richard's work that we are now reviewing. Even where proprietary right is ignored, it is impossible to obtain your paper jumma for ever. It has been nominally ignored in Bombay, and yet Mr. Knight is not content. Speaking of some recent settlements there he says :—"We are only concerned

* *Indian Economist*, February 1871, page 175.

† *Indian Economist*, January 1871, page 147.

"to show, and the exigencies of the State require us to show, that the new assessments might with safety have been pitched at a far higher rate." This is precisely what we have already pointed out. Call a man what you like, if you give him a lease of thirty years at a moderate cash-rent, you will never again be able to screw out of him your old "immemorial share."

The attack on the North-West Provinces assessments was not commenced by Mr. Knight, but by some remarks of Messrs. Strachey and Campbell in Council. It was most triumphantly repelled by Mr. Colvin's minute, which we would recommend our readers to study carefully. The two charges were—1, that the reduction of the standard from 66 to 50 per cent. was unnecessary; 2, that these assets are calculated at the old rates notwithstanding the altered condition of the country. Mr. Colvin (paras. 10 to 20) most clearly demonstrates the fallacy of the notion, that in making a settlement the exaction of a certain mathematical portion of the gross produce is the sole thing to be regarded; and shows that the true question is what margin is left to the proprietor after the Government demand has been paid. If this margin is sufficient for his maintenance in decent comfort, the tax is fair; if it is not, it is oppressive, and must be lowered. He points out, what we have already stated, that what may have represented 66 per cent. of the net assets at the commencement, bears a very different ratio to them at the end of a 30 years' lease; and that where an attempt has been made to extort a jumma which would be equal to this percentage at the end, the result has been a most disastrous failure. The second charge that the new assessments are based on the old rates, is proved to be simply a misapprehension. Mr. Colvin quotes the words of the settlement officers themselves, saying that not only did they take the new rent, but they went further and "assumed that the real rent was a little above the declared rent; that rents were still elastic, and would rise." A table is given of the percentage of this increase in rents actual and assumed, and the result of the revision in the N. W. P. is a substantial increase. Of course Mr. Knight attacks Mr. Colvin's memorandum; he is in turn attacked by the *Indian Observer*. We have no time to give a detailed account of the contest; but when we find Mr. Knight himself saying, * "we are free to admit that we think Mr. Strachey made a mistake in selecting the N. W. P. as the field in which to open the campaign; the settlement proceedings in these provinces, so far as we have looked into them, are less open to remark than similar proceedings elsewhere," we are sure our readers will have little trouble in deciding with which side lay the victory.

* *Indian Economist*, June 1871, page 299.

As in the theatre the performance is often brought to a close with a farce, so will we end our article with a brief review of the Panjáb Burlesque. A gentleman apparently closely connected with the local paper* and intended by nature for a peaceful profession, roused to warlike ardour by the blast of a Knight's trumpet, donned a suit which looked like the Knight's armour, and stepped boldly into the arena. After the usual praises of British rule, and compliments to his opponent, he proceeded to charge the settlement commissioner with "a wanton sacrifice of the public revenue." The price of land, of agricultural produce, the amount paid as compensation for land taken up for public purposes, had increased enormously, vast sums had been spent on canals and communications; a produce estimate of 318 lakhs showed that in one division alone the revenue might have been nearly doubled; "yet, strange to say, the result of the revision of the assessment in six districts was a net decrease of Rs. 22,582."† Elaborate comparisons were drawn between the Panjáb and the N. W. P. and Oudh; we were indignantly asked why the Government should receive less on one side of the Jumna than on the other; and there was the old talk about "middlemen"‡ and the "immemorial rights of the State." The "usual statements accompany the report;" and we are even asked to believe that in this model province, the cultivators wander about searching in vain for a tax-gatherer.§ So pleased was the author with his performance that he republished his articles in a pamphlet form. He had scarcely done so when an unknown champion entered the list on behalf of the Settlement Department, and published a second pamphlet, in which he pointed out that the elaborate tables compiled by his opponent were as worthless as the arguments based upon them. The aspirant to knightly fame reviewed this in his own paper|| calmly ignoring what had been said, and waving again his old banner. The reply to this review was a direct challenge to state—1, if the net result of the new settlement was not an increase of 1,78,000?—2, How the produce estimate of 318 lakhs was obtained?—3, if the condition of Lucknow was really the same as that of Amritsar. We think that in sending this challenge the settlement champion was scarcely fair. He should have remembered that he was only acting a part in a play; that though his opponent's "get-up" was admirable, and his harness shone bravely in the eyes of the public, after all it was but pasteboard, and it was never meant to

* *Indian Public Opinion.*

† *Land Revenue in the Panjáb*, page 3.

‡ We have already quoted the official report, which shows that

there are no middlemen in the Panjáb.

§ *I. P. O.* June 30th, 1871, "Panjáb Local Rates Act." Also extract from *Pall Mall Budget*.

|| *I. P. O.*, July 21st, 1871.

withstand the cuts of a real sword. Be this as it may, the real sword was displayed, and it elicited the following answer :— 1, that the net result was an increase of 1,78,000 ; 2, that the writer could say how he had obtained his produce estimate, but would not ; 3, that the condition of Lucknow was not the same as that of Amritsar. He was of opinion that settlement officers were more or less asses, but he intended in future to leave the criticism of revenue matters to the Financial Commissioner.* With these words he quits the stage, and the curtain falls on the Panjáb farce. *Risus solvuntur tabulæ.*

We have now examined in detail the three propositions that were placed before us ; and though we have endeavoured to do so with thorough impartiality, our judgment on them is most decided. We consider that the distinction drawn between land and other property is imaginary ; according to one branch of the English school it ends in nothing ; whilst, as applied by the other branch, it means pure confiscation. The "reservation" of a "share" by the State is in England a harmless fiction, but in India it may be turned into a very mischievous fallacy. We believe the Editor of the *Indian Economist*, who is its great advocate, to be most honestly convinced, that it is a great truth, and that he is its apostle. Tied to this belief in a "reserved share," he will not see that the land revenue is after all a tax, that it must be, like other burdens, fitted to the back, not the back to the burden. Working out the value of this share by a strict mathematical process, he cannot believe that when his calculations have been so careful and his arithmetic is perfectly accurate, an assessment evolved by a sedentary gentleman in a Bombay office may be but ill-suited to the actual condition of an Indian village. Hating bitterly the very name of "proprietor," he forgets that in the great part of Northern India this aristocrat is but an unit in a brotherhood of peasants. Perfectly sincere in his paper opposition to rack-renting, he does not see that his system would inevitably lead to it—that one of his allies has openly proclaimed it as his policy—that though by ignoring existing rights, and assessing field by field you can start with a higher assessment than where you have to deal with a whole community, you cannot extort from the people the Mughal share unless you adopt the Mughal system of collection. He believes the settlement officers to be able men deluded by a vicious philanthropy into abandoning what they know to be the just rights of the State ;—we believe them to be officials who, though very able, have sufficient common-sense to know the difference between assessments which are possible on paper and those which are possible in reality ; and

* I. P. O. August 8th.

who if they have abstained from binding further burdens on the people have done so not from a false sentimentality, but because they knew the burden was too grievous to be borne. Finally, we maintain that he is the true "ryot's friend" who enables a million of serfs to become independent yeomen; and not the man who, however sincerely, would revive the imposition of enormous burdens, on the ground that they are the immemorial share of an imaginary Commonwealth.

ART. VI.—THE ROAD CESS ACT, 1871.

WE do not desire to encumber the pages of this *Review* with any detailed record of a controversy that must be green in the memory of our readers. The late phases of change between the conclusions of the Imperial and Provincial Governments, through the mysteries of settlement, sub-infeudation, and taxes on income and property, to direct local taxation on the land for local purposes, have been unstintedly presented to the public, from time to time, in official correspondence and non-official critical literature. The usual reference that, on such discordance of opinion, is made from this country to the Secretary of State—the memorable May Despatch of 1870 in answer to that reference—and the scarcely less important report* of the Committee appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor to consider the question of Local Cesses, upon the principles of which the present Act to defray the cost of the construction and repairs of roads in this province has been based—† are published alike in the columns of the *Calcutta Gazette* and in the daily press; and are familiar to all who have any interest in, or knowledge of, our political administration. As was publicly affirmed by a distinguished native gentleman in Calcutta, the subject has been worn threadbare.

The broad facts of the case are open to all. Loaded on the one hand, as we are, with a splendid blunder which narrow expediency rejects, but honour compels us to uphold; and plunged at the same time into recurring deficit with an increasing expenditure; we have been driven, almost in despair, to seek a remedy in every plausible artifice that skill or experience could suggest. The permanent land settlement of this country is the stumbling-block of innovators, the temptation of financiers, the glory and disgrace of our administration. The sub-infeudation of landed tenures, the direct progeny of that settlement, is a fatal poison that permeates the very source of our popular life. The land revenue regulations of our early government are the quick-

* The report of the Cess Committee is signed by the following gentlemen, Messrs. V. H. Schaleh (the President), C. T. Buckland, A. R. Thompson, Babus Degumber Mitter, Isser Chunder Mitter, and Mr. T. H. Wordie. It is understood that Mr. H. Bell entirely differed from the rest of the Committee and recorded a separate minute, but his protest was not published with the report of the majority.

† Mr. Campbell stated in Council on the 3rd of June that "he concurred most fully with almost every word" that had fallen from Mr. Schaleh in the course of the debate, that the Government "were immensely indebted to the Cess Committee for their report, which was most valuable, and that they had accepted "ninety-nine hundredths of the conclusions to which the Committee had arrived."

sand of Bengal. The difficulty was created by the Cornwallis Code of 1793; it became evident under the *Hufum* and *Punjum* regulations of 1799 and 1812; it became prominent on the occasion of Mr. Prinsep's law, legalizing sub-infeudation in 1819; its solution grew complicated on the enactment of the settlement regulations of 1822 and 1833; it became insoluble on the codification of the rent and revenue laws of 1859.

The permanent settlement of the land in these provinces is an actual fact, a stern and immovable reality among us which we can neither disregard, despise, nor repudiate. "The property in the soil has been declared to be vested in the landholders, and the revenue payable to Government from each estate has been fixed for ever;" this is the fundamental principle of the land revenue system of Bengal. It were idle to fight against it; it were futile to deprecate it; it is impossible to avoid it. It is on this rock that our most gifted administrators have split, that our successive financiers have been nearly wrecked, that not the least able of our publicists lies stranded and forlorn. But any one who has had practical experience in the collection of land revenue in this country, who has been able to see with his own eyes the interwoven intricacy of our local landed tenures, and who is not unaware that all rights in relation to property are social in their destination and subordinate in every case to the duties of which they are the counterpart, is less likely to view the existing organism with proclivities panic-stricken, hostile, or destructive. Legally and morally, the learned legal member of Council has expounded in his place an interpretation of our obligations under the settlement, to which few who have read it, we conceive, can take exception. We have, it is clear from that exposition, the legal right to abrogate the settlement if we think fit; but we have not the moral power. We are bound, if for no other reason, for our own dignity, to maintain our part of our contract with the landholders. It is not to the point to contend that they may not have fulfilled theirs. The honour of Englishmen is inviolable, and in the name of that honour we have fettered ourselves to the present current settlement of the land for ever. Distinct, however, as may be this doctrine of right, and convincing as it is in principle, the repudiation of the permanent settlement is not, in truth, an abstract alternative of legal license or moral rigidity. Socially—and it is before the arbitrament of the exigencies of society that we would reduce the limits of this discussion—socially it is impossible. Energetic theorists and nervous zemindars may console themselves with the obvious reflection that it is simply impracticable—even if we desired it ever so much—in a community of which at least seven-tenths is agricultural, to upturn every nature of right and interest in land. So subtle, unin-

dependent, and interblended is the structural system of which the permanent settlement is the origin and natural exponent, that the stroke of the pen that would blot out that settlement, would shatter also in its passage all social welfare and stability.

The direct taxation of the last ten years is a truly desperate remedial attempt to escape from the consequences of this dilemma. It has, as we know, failed flagrantly. It deserved almost to be unsuccessful. But the circumstances of its failure are so important as to call even in this place for a passing notice. It failed, indeed, rather from the mode of its operations than from its inherent weakness, or, as some have alleged, from its inappropriateness to Bengal. It could never have succeeded under the peculiar accidents of its introduction. It was the child of an emergency, without financial precedent, abnormal and half-hearted, and therefore injudicious. It is the disastrous nature of direct taxation neither to correct nor modify its own defects, and even when most moderate in its incidence, to influence indirectly all orders and ranks of the community. The manner of our operations under the Income-tax has fostered this tendency among us without restraint. It is needless to describe those operations here. It were needless almost to indicate their effect. We are suffering from them even as we write. There is now a sentiment of uncasiness, a feeling of insecurity and dissatisfaction, a general distrust of Government in these provinces, that it will take years of studied reaction and careful management to obliterate. The unsullied dignity of the Mofussil Bench has become a symbol of anxiety and apprehension. The annual advent of the Magisterial winter tour is anticipated with dread; the presence of the camp in the village is watched with terror; its departure is followed with execration. The good old times are gone when the fair-haired Magistrate, in all the flush of enthusiasm of his work, the day's toil ended, the last paper signed, and the troubles of the Court at rest, would break into familiar conversation with the grey-bearded Mondols of the neighbourhood, garrulous old men, gossiping of many things—the quarrels of their talukdar, the dacoity in Asharh, the rice crop gathered in the garner, the *dena bhangs* in the ripening chillies, the pestilence of Choitro, the cattle-plague in Phalgun, the rates of rent and labour when they were young, the rise of the river during the late rains, and the crumbling of its banks, and the loss of all the *chur* indigo that stretched along yonder as far as you can see:—these times are gone: and in their stead the same Mondol householder with three ploughs, asseverating by all he holds most sacred that he has but one; his flocks and ample herds that were the pride of his caste-fellows have dwindled down to a few wretched bullocks, the *jamma* that was eighty rupees has become twenty, the *gola-bari* that was

well stored with *dhan* is empty—sometimes even wholly removed and its foundations razed ; not one atom of consolation, not one word of information, not one look of sympathy, not one expression of confidence, not one friendly voice : the country seems blighted and the people with it : work is painful, and justice an echo of routine : the cherisher of his people is an Income-tax gatherer,—the oppressor of the poor.

The demerit of the Income-tax is this failure. Its principle may have been excellent, its intention well considered, its basis unimpeachable ; but faultless as it may be alleged to have been in theory, it failed in fact, and its actual failure is complete. Direct taxation, however, in spite of all its failure, marks an epoch in the history of Bengal. The manifest unsuccess of recent imperial taxation is the real motive of our so-called decentralizing policy. A series of direct taxation upon the profits of moveable and immoveable property has resolved itself into a precursor of a local tax assessed for local purposes on the land. As the first Income-tax included the wealthy landholders in its incidence, and the License and Certificate taxes excluded them, and the current Income-taxes have included them again, so the Cess Act is palpably the result of this cycle of oscillations between the tax-paying citizen,—by which expression we denote all assessable interests in trade and merchandize,—and the zemindar. It is the outward evidence of a compromise between these imperial estates and their coalition with Government. It is the first fruits of an arbitration in which the masses interested have neither been able nor allowed to plead their claim,* and the burden of taxa-

* Mr. Campbell affirmed as follows on the 25th March last :—" When he spoke of the people, he meant not only those who were educated and spoke English, but the mass of the people themselves. To find a means to get at the feelings and wishes of the people, had been the subject of his most anxious consideration. On a recent occasion, when a gentleman presented a petition to this Council, professing to be on behalf of the ryots, he took upon himself to ask whether any Hon'ble Member would undertake to represent the opinions of the ryots. No Hon'ble Member took advantage of that occasion to express himself as an exponent of the wishes of the ryots ; and perhaps he might say that *there did not seem to be amongst the gentlemen in this Council any one who could be considered a re-*

presentative of the masses. The gentlemen, who composed the non-official element in the Council, must be taken chiefly to represent the upper strata of European and Native society ; there was no member among them who could say that he was a representative of the proper people ; and he had found extreme difficulty in finding anywhere any person who could fully inform him of the feeling of the masses of the people * * * *At any rate, he could say this, that through the instrumentality of the local officers and others, the Government would endeavour to become acquainted with the feelings of the masses of the people."*

Now here is a distinct confession and a distinct promise. But passing over for the present the confession, we should like to know if the promise

tion has been laid on those least able to pay. The Road Cess Act is an avowed declaration of direct taxation on the "cultivating ryot."

The Income-tax, it must be said, did not immediately affect the agricultural classes.* It fell upon the rich, or comparatively rich, and those who could afford to pay some impost. And it was assessed by officers of Government, who, whatever their difficulties and deficiencies, at least endeavoured to do their duty by the State and people, and compelled their subordinates with every reasonable severity and general success to do the same. But the new cess is directly leviable from the rural masses; it is payable by the poorest agriculturists; it falls upon the toiling millions of the peasantry; and it will be collected by the zemindars.

We have trampled on the weak; we have effected a financial revolution; we have gained a direct tax based on land; we have retained the secret sympathies of the middle-men and settlement-holders in favour of a land tax; we have exempted the commercial and trading classes; we have apportioned the burden of the payment of the tax upon the friendless and impoverished ryot, and adroitly utilized the services of the zemindar in his old office of tax collector; we have cut the Gordian knot, pleasing the several powerful interests to be propitiated, and made them our allies. We have truckled to the strong. It was an admirable suggestion

has been kept. Did the Government consult any of its local officers or "others" in the preparation of the District Road Cess Act? Did the Government avail itself even of this imperfect "instrumentality," in order to ascertain, at least in some degree, the wishes and apprehensions of the people? We do not scruple to express our opinion pretty confidently that it did not. And if this be so, how is it possible to animadvert too stringently upon the glaring contrast between the prominent but unfulfilled, and, therefore, deceptive professions of a Lieutenant-Governor "who would almost say that he would rather cut off his right hand than have any thing to do with imposing a further tax on the salt of the poor;" and the untempered inexperience that arrogantly adopted and hastened through an aristocratic Council—a Zemindari and "upper-class" Legislature, this Road Cess Act—"the principles of which," indeed, Mr. Campbell has declared to be "unassailable"—but which, we trust, we have shown

to the satisfaction of our readers has its weak points, and not the least of them this, that it will be a grievous and insufferable burden on the native peasantry.

* Since writing the above our attention has been called to the Lieutenant-Governor's recent Income-tax Minute, from which it appears that 34,375 cultivators were assessed to the tax in 1869-70. This circumstance, no doubt, in some degree, modifies the remark in the text, but it does not invalidate it, for it is a well-known fact that the wealthier cultivators of the Bengal rural districts are also mostly money-lenders and usurers. The few chief ryots of a considerable agricultural village, are in all probability liable to a tax on an income of five hundred rupees. But though these men are ryots, or as Mr. Campbell would prefer to call them, "mere cultivators," they do not by any means derive their whole income from an agricultural source.

truly, whosoever it was,—a suggestion wise in this generation and statesmanlike—that we should assess the landed proprietor for our own convenience on his land, and hold him and him only, for our convenience, directly responsible to ourselves for that assessment, and direct him only, for his convenience, to reimburse himself by a legalized process of extortion on his under-tenant.

The Road Cess Act, as we have it now lying before us, is divided into three main parts as regards assessment. First, it provides a cess upon land; secondly, it provides for a cess upon mines, quarries, tramways, railways, or other immoveable property which may not have been brought under the incidence of the Act by any other of its provisions; and thirdly, it provides a cess upon houses including manufactories.

The first of these parts is beyond all comparison the most important. The Cess Act is in reality an Act imposing a cess upon land; the fact that its incidence has ultimately been brought to include other property than land being a mere subterfuge, as has been openly admitted, to meet the general requirements of the Secretary of State that “all property accessible to the rate” should be brought within its operation. It is to this part of the Act alone that we propose to devote any considerable space in this paper.

Our remarks on those provisions that impose an assessment on mines, quarries, and railways will be very brief. Vested interests have here been assailed, and there is unfortunately reason to apprehend that the force of opposition is so strong as to have persuaded the Government of India materially to impair the useful effect of these assessments. We candidly confess that we had clung to these sections as the fairest and least objectionable clauses under all the law. A local cess is to be realized on account of the construction and repair of local roads; and it might, we thought, have with some reason been assumed that those persons who make habitually the greatest use of these roads, and who would necessarily derive the greatest advantage from their use, should contribute proportionally to their support. Our isolated railways would be virtually closed were it not for the land and water communications that open them out to other parts of the country. The Railway Companies, it is evident, derive their income in a great measure from the roads leading up to their several railway stations; and if the carts that bring goods to and from the railway—these goods representing as they do that enormous traffic which has so rapidly sprung into existence and of which we are justly proud—if these carts injure and wear out the railway feeder roads, why should not the railway, on the principles of a local cess, contribute to their repairs? A similar reflection applies, though perhaps it is in a degree less appropriate, to the case of mines and quarries. It applies also to the offices

and yards of steam companies, to all manufactories,—sugar, silk, jute or indigo, to all dock-yards and river harbours, and notably to all hâts, bazars, gunges, markets, and fairs. That it applies with extreme force to cow-houses, cart-houses, and stables will not be denied by those of our mofussil readers who have ridden through a Gowala village, pulverized in the cold weather, and rendered impassable in the rains, by the footprints of one, two or three thousand untended cattle.

The road cess on houses, as explained in the fourth part of the Act, calls for a more careful consideration. The Committee have been scrupulous to indicate that in their opinion, houses should be taxed as “immovable property accessible to the rate,” to avoid the “apparent violation of the Permanent Settlement which it is alleged a special cess upon land alone would involve.” But to effect this object justly, even as they aver that they have not assessed agricultural interests on the land itself, but according to the value of the profits derived from the land—or in other words according to the wealth of the assessee; so they ought to have assessed all those classes who, on their own showing, are equally concerned in the local expenditure on account of roads,—not upon any particular branch of property, but with some reference to the varying proportion of their wealth. Far, however, from basing the valuation of their assessment on the circumstances of each individual tax-payer, the Committee have based it entirely upon the estimated cost of construction of the house assessed. The Committee felt, they tell us—though it does not appear whence they derived the impression, and they furnish us with no reason for entertaining it—“they felt that in a general tax like a district house-tax, it “would be necessary to give some tangible standard by which the “punchayuts and assessors could regulate their assessments, and by “which these assessments could be checked; and that it would be “inexpedient to permit them to take into consideration the circumstances of the individual occupants.” The members of the Cess Committees do not affirm that the cost of the construction of a house is any criterion of the wealth of the occupant or the proprietors. Rather, they profess themselves unable to compromise their report by so notoriously inaccurate a supposition. They admit by implication the fact, that the appearance of a Mofussil house, or the actual value of that house can present no notion whatever of the wealth of its inmates. It would not indeed do so in Europe; it would not do so in Calcutta; far less will it do so in the interior of Bengal. It has been truly said that the richest mahajuns in this country are to be found living in mud hovels, which have scarcely cost a couple of hundred rupees in their construction; and it is not less true to affirm that poor families, enervated and indigent *rentiers*, whose total income is so small as easily to render them secure from

the margin of liability under an Income-tax,—whose income is perhaps not equal to the rack-rent of the house they dwell in—inhabit often large and commodious masonry dwellings which have descended to them in inheritance from wealthy and more energetic ancestors. The latter class do not indeed, we think, as a rule, deserve any favorable consideration; but the former—the miserly and productive money-lenders in their mouldy huts—shall they escape? It is not, we must avow, in our opinion, one of the least of the faults of the Road Cess Act that the bankers, merchants, shopkeepers and traders—the mercantile and trading classes, those classes that constitute the wealthiest section of the community—virtually escape taxation under its provisions. Why should not those persons who, it is evident in the very words of the report, “will greatly benefit by improved communications,” contribute their fair quota to local rates for effecting those improvements? It is mere quibbling with words to allege in answer to this question, as has been alleged, that if we ventured to assess the mahajuns and money-lenders in proportion to their wealth, we should no longer be levying the cess on property of a kind which can be made accessible to rates. The spirit of the despatch of the Secretary of State is, that we should tax all classes without distinction, and on no account palter with the landed proprietors by taxing the land exclusively and exempting other species of property; and the moneyed classes, it may not inappropriately be argued, in consequence of the remarkable prosperity and security that the protection of our rule has afforded them, have less ground even than others to claim exemption. As the law stands indeed, we will affirm that the exclusion from the incidence of this Act, of all towns and villages to which the District Municipal Improvement Act and the District Towns Act have been extended, effects also a practical exclusion of its incidence from all but agricultural villages. As the law stands, the District Road Cess House-tax will be exceptionally unfructuous, we are afraid. But under any circumstances we do not hesitate to enunciate, on behalf of the public, that only to tax capitalists, fund-holders and money-lenders on the mere value of the house they inhabit, is literally to exempt them from taxation altogether. A local tax of this nature, we would represent to our legislators, will be received by the people whom it affects with an amount of willingness directly proportioned to the care which has been bestowed to make its incidence equal and free from anomalies. And if, as is probable, the principles and procedure professed under this Act are to be adopted for the extension of taxation for local purposes other than those for which the Road Cess Act is intended, it was surely a necessity of the gravest importance to have assessed the incidence of taxation on a more equitable basis. It must always be remembered, writes the Secretary of State, “in matters of

"taxation, and when a given work is to be done, and a given amount of expenditure is required to do it, that the exemption of any one class is simply an aggravation of the burden on all other classes who are not exempt."

On the other hand, a local property tax rated equitably according to the circumstances of the assessee would have afforded—and this is a remark to which we desire to draw the most careful attention—precisely that great step in advance in the lesson of self-government which it may be presumed without hypocrisy we are here to impart to our native fellow-subjects. It is the very essence of any proper system of local rating, that the people should be permitted to take such matters into their own consideration, and settle the proportionate incidence of the tax among themselves.* "Voluntary valuation," it has been proclaimed by Mr. Schalch in his place in the Bengal Council, "is the key-stone of the structure of the Cess Act;" and Mr. Bernard has not scrupled to declare in the same place that "the chief characteristic of the Act, was that "rate-payers were to make their own valuation of their property." Yet without excuse or explanation, in flagrant disregard of all outward profession, the dignity of the sole local assessing corporation contemplated under any of the provisions of the Act, has been ruthlessly reduced from a show of real responsibility into the mere office of an appraisership of the value of a family residence. No course we think could have been adopted less worthy of experienced and wise administrators; no course more unstatesmanlike and retrogressive. It is indicative, it appears to us, at once of the moral weakness of our lawgivers, and of the indefensible contempt they do not fear to display for their own instructions and avowed principles of action, that they have deviated, without even an apology in this instance, from their proper path, and diverted this important measure from its vital character as an Act imposing a local cess, to be locally imposed, "without distinction and without exemption upon all the holders of property accessible to the rate." The Government has missed, at least in this direction, the chance of

* On this point it is a pleasure to reproduce the language of Mr. Cave quoted by Mr. Campbell in Council. "Might not," he asks, "this system of local rates lead to the local and decentralizing management of affairs which was considered so desirable by those who looked forward to the native population assisting us to govern the country and becoming less apt than they were at present to call upon Go-

vernment to initiate social reforms? "At least we might begin locally, "and try them with five cities before entrusting them with empire." The Lieutenant-Governor ventures to assert that this passage of Mr. Cave's speech represents the bright side of the Cess Act:—it might have done so, we think, undoubtedly; it professes to do so;—but unfortunately it does not. The bright side of the Act is not so easily delineated.

holding out an opportunity for self-development to the inhabitants of Bengal.

We turn now to a detailed examination of the division of the Act that imposes taxation upon the land. As we have stated, this is incomparably the most important portion of the law. The Cess Act is an enactment which, we may truly reiterate, imposes a local tax upon landed interests alone. It is the land tax alone that is remunerative. The incidence of the tax upon railways and similar property has been emasculated under the orders of the Imperial Government; the incidence of the cess upon commerce and trade has been narrowed to the occasional payment of a few annas as house-tax from a small grain-seller or tobacco or sweetmeat manufacturer, and possibly a few rupees from a casual mahajun who does not refuse to reside in an agricultural village. But the value of the land cess, on the contrary, in these provinces has been moderately estimated at from thirty to thirty-five lakhs of rupees per annum.

The main principles of the Cess Committee on land taxation have been adopted and approved by Government, and upon them this chapter of the Road Cess Act has eventually been passed. We reproduce them as follows :—

(1) The basis of the land tax is to be the rental of the lands upon which it is assessed.

(2) The ryots are to pay part of the tax in proportion to the rent of their holdings.

(3) The receivers of rent, including in that term the zemindar and all his intermediate tenants to whom part of the rights originally vested in him have been transferred, are also to pay a share of the tax; and the distribution of the share among them is to be in proportion to the profit they severally derive from the land.

(4) The whole of the collections are to be made through the zemindars.

It appears to us, writing as critics, that these principles, with the exception of the third, are unjust, imprudent, and impracticable. It appears to us, that on the one hand they err grossly on the side of excess, and that on the other they fail as grossly on the score of insufficiency. It appears to us that no proceedings based upon such principles ought ever to have been accepted, or can ever be carried out; and we think that if any attempt is made to put them into execution, it will lead to incalculable mischief. We shall not therefore hesitate to record our uncompromising antagonism to them from first to last.

A preliminary objection presents itself to us on the threshold. We object against the Road Cess Act, that local taxation upon land, according to the procedure of that Act, is impracticable. It seems to us that this objection alone against the present form of the

Act is perfectly fatal. We will first explain the procedure according to which the gross rental of the land is to be obtained, and then suggest a few statistics for consideration, indicating the conditions under which that procedure will operate. The procedure is as follows:—Upon the commencement of the Act in any district, the Collector will cause a general proclamation to be issued calling upon every holder of an estate or tenure, of which the annual Government revenue or rent shall exceed one hundred rupees, severally to lodge in his office a complete return showing the holding and rent of every under-tenant and ryot upon his property. He will then, so soon as may be after the publication of this general proclamation, serve a particular notice upon every zemindar, requiring him to produce within three months a rent-roll of his estates. After the rent-roll is filed, it will be the Collector's duty to select from it the zemindar's under-tenants of the first class, and serve them with a similar particular notice to present their rent-rolls in their turn within one month. After receiving these returns, he will again proceed progressively to dispose of the subordinate under-tenants, and so on through the several inferior classes of a complex series of subinfeudation, until all the links are exhausted and the cultivating ryot is at last revealed and laid bare. The ordinary sequence will be through the zemindar, patnidar, durpatnidar, sepatnidar, ijaradar, darijaradar, makar-raridar, occupancy ryot, to the *khurfa* cultivator.

In the case of estates and under-tenures, of which the revenue or rent is less than one hundred rupees annually, it is optional with the Collector to adopt this procedure or not, and he may at his discretion arbitrarily assess the rent-roll.

The statistics to which we would briefly invite attention are all extracted from sources published on the authority of Government. The number of estates now borne on the revenue-roll of the Lower Provinces of Bengal is 230,395. These estates are held by zemindars who pay their rent direct to Government; and in default of punctual payment of the revenue that has been fixed upon them, are liable to sale at public auction. Partly, no doubt, from this circumstance which, as has been frequently observed, must impair security, and partly from the reasons assigned by the late Babu Prosonno Tagore, "Indolence, inexperience and indebtedness," it is a fact that the native zemindars, as a rule, prefer the system of letting out their estates in patni and ijaras, to managing them themselves. Almost all the large zemindars of the country have thus reduced themselves—as they have no shame in stating—into the position and status of annuitants. Such a course on their part saves them trouble and anxiety, and brings a regular supply of money to meet their immediate wants. The patnidars and ijaradars actuated by the same impulses have sub-let

their interests to others. Nor have these again failed to follow in their given path. Mr. Butterworth Bayley when Magistrate of Burdwan, fifty years ago, officially recorded that he had met with "more than one instance of a village being held in patni by six or eight individuals as a dur-dur-dur-patni taluk." And we may now learn from the reports of the Registration Department this instructive truth, that in round numbers the whole or a portion of every estate on the Government revenue-roll, is sub-let into a permanent and transferable sub-tenure of some kind or other in every four years. Annually there are on the average 50,000 leases of perpetual tenures now granted in this country. In the district of Chittagong alone there were 15,000 of these leases granted during the last year. In Noakhali, there were 7,574; in Backergunj, 5,882; in Burdwan, 4,766; in Faridpur, 3,265; and in the three districts of the Presidency Division, 11,919. It would, we think, not be unreasonable to assume in the presence of these figures, that for every estate in this country there are, in a general estimate, from ten to fifteen tenures granted in perpetuity. Nor is it certainly an exaggeration to declare that there must be at least three times this number in existence granted only for a term of years. It is, we conceive, a legitimate inference to draw from the statistics of the Registration Department that there are at this moment in Bengal, of one sort or another, from five to ten millions of under-tenures. This does not appear to us an immoderate calculation;* and even if we allow, for facility of argument, that there are only twenty under-tenures to an estate on an average all round, and exclude from this estimate at least five-sixths of that number of which the rent may be less than 100 rupees, we still find ourselves in the calamitous enjoyment of about one million of proprietors of estates and holders of under-tenures on whom the Bengal Collectors will have to serve notices under the Cess Act. The question arises, how will they serve them? Is it possible to serve them, or is it impossible? If it is possible, we shall indeed have reason to repose henceforth a confidence in the resources and capacity of our district officials that nothing can impair. But if it is impossible!—the notices will not be served; and if the notices are not served, the returns will not be given in; and if the returns are not given in, the whole object of the Cess Act will be frustrated, and all the efforts of our legislature will collapse into a feeble, abortive, inchoate, gasping spasm of administration,—still-born and ridiculous. Or, suppose on the other hand, by way of hypothesis, that the notices are duly served, but that the assessee

* By way of illustration it may, we think, be assumed that there are on an average some 10 or 15 under-tenures to a village;—at least in the Eastern Districts of Bengal.

puts in no papers—what is the Collector to do then? How can he punish the defaulter? The penal provisions of this part of the law are an abject travesty of penalty. The Collector must proceed judicially; the defaulter eventually appears before him under process; he is accompanied by the whole village who are as one man in a matter so seriously affecting their own interests; he protests that he never received the notice, and fifty witnesses prove that the serving peon never came near the village! Or again, supposing this difficulty also to be successfully surmounted, and the jama-wasil papers pouring in readily from all sides, 20 or 30 or 40 thousand in every district—and the tax in the vast majority of these cases infinitesimally small—how is it credible that the Collector can ever administer the cess with justice in its apportionment over such an innumerable detail?

We proceed now to another aspect of the case. Our objections are no longer preliminary. We assume, for our purpose, that the notices are all served, that the returns are peacefully falling into the collectorate, and that the Collector has leisure and ability to examine them justly:—and plainly question whether we have under the law any solid guarantee of the accuracy of these returns. And if the guarantee is insufficient, will they be accurate? And if they are not accurate, what then? What if the rent-roll filed in one case before the Court has fraudulently diminished the rent-receipts, and in another has fictitiously augmented them? What if “the immense incidental advantage of a registration of all landed rights in Bengal” results in a registration false and fraudulent from beginning to end? What if that false registration of landed rights creates heart-burnings, and strife, and quarrels, and litigation, and dishonesty, and duplicity in every village of this vast province? What if this hypothetical advantage on the side of order degenerates in practice into an inherent triumph of disorganization?

First, let us consider the check against fraudulent augmentation. The Cess Committee observe on this subject, with a simplicity that we trust is genuine “that there is of course no possible objection to the landlords’ overstating their rents as much as they like. They render themselves liable to a higher tax, but cannot recover from their ryots and under-tenants more than their due.” And therefore it is, we suppose, that an over-statement of rents is not punishable under the law with any special sanction. But did it not occur to the members of that Committee to reflect, that the tenants also would be liable on the same basis to a higher tax, which they had no hand in assessing, and that not only is the tenant usually a poorer man than his landlord, and therefore less able to pay, but that in proportion as he is poorer even down to the very tiller of the soil, so he has, under their

own scheme, to pay a disproportionate division of the impost? Did it never occur to the committee members to conceive how many a wealthy landholder will hasten to avail himself of such an opportunity as this to wreak his spite, without chance of objection or danger, upon an obstructive ryot? Did it never occur to them that there may exist a tendency on the part of zemindars to overstate the *jumma* of a ryot in hopes of, by long usage and pressure of *dustoor*, gradually compelling him to submit to an increase of rent—a preferable, surer, and cheaper way in all probability than the tedium of a civil suit?

Or, on the other hand, let us take the guarantee against fraudulent depreciation. It is obvious, of course, that this guarantee, if only for financial purposes, is of paramount importance. It is understood, of course, that the smaller the rent-roll presented, the smaller will be the tax. Yet Government does not shrink from expressing its belief that it has “sufficiently provided against understating, by “enacting that no one can recover more rent from any tenant or “ryot than he has inserted in his list.” But in the matter of a farm, for instance, or temporary lease of land, is it not evident that the anxiety of the farmer to obtain a renewal of the lease on its expiration, will effectually preclude his availing himself of any privilege of the law in reducing his rates of rent? And what if the ryot of the legislature is a tenant-at-will, as the great mass of cultivators in this country are, and the landlord has power to oust him as he likes at the expiry of the year! In such a case how would the zemindar be deterred from giving false returns by the fear of affording evidence against himself? Should he enter the ryot in his return at only one quarter of his real rent, and if the ryot in that case should demur to pay more, would he not immediately silence his objection by the service of a notice to quit? It would not, we opine, be difficult to meet with a more complaisant tenant; and indeed in these cases, as in others, the tenant perceiving his real interest to be identical with that of his landlord, will doubtless enter into some amicable arrangement on the subject of his rent, by which a mutual fraud upon the State may be securely and jointly perpetrated. More than half the rent, for example, may be compromised for ever in consideration of quarterly payments on account of a genuinely fictitious bond, and such bonds being duly registered in the local offices, no Court will venture to suspect their authenticity. Or the practice may be followed of compounding a high rate of rent for a large fine or *salami*—a device with which we are already very familiar in the Mofussil. It is indeed a point worthy of most particular consideration, that in every scale and class of under-tenancy, the personal interest of the tenant is in favor of his making some settlement or arrangement, and conniving at the deceit practised against the Government by his landlord.

The simple reason, however, of the less rent-roll the less the tax on all, is not by any means the only motive that will induce the zemindars and intermediate under-tenants to falsify their returns. The rent-rolls filed under the Cess Act are, as we read the law, conclusive evidence against the rent-receivers in future proceedings. They will be filed in the Collector's office publicly ; they will lie in the Collector's sherishta, and under the rules of official business, the Collector will not be able to refuse the public to take a copy of them. An under-tenant under such alarming circumstances will, we do not hesitate to say, in his own interests, almost invariably prefer duplicity to plain dealing. A farmer, if he pledged his true accounts, would merely place a thumbscrew in the hand of his landlord to squeeze him with on the expiry of his lease ; and our readers are aware that even permanent under-tenures are liable, as a rule, to enhancement of their rent, if the zemindars can show that the tenure holder is enjoying greater profits from his tenure than other similar tenure-holders in the immediate vicinity. The zemindars will assuredly procure copies of their under-tenant's rent-roll with the single view of increasing their rental. And is it not certain that, under such a contingency, the tenure-holders will be driven to resort to subterfuge and fraud in filing those returns in the Collectorate which they are aware may shortly be quoted with ruinous effect against themselves ? Who will speak the truth, when truth-speaking will entail a certain loss ? Nor is this aspect of the case exhaustive. It is not only that the rent-rolls will be put in evidence against the rent-receivers by their landlords in rent cases on account of rent : they will also be put in on all other occasions as evidence of the value of their property. They will be put in, in fixing a valuation of their land for any public purpose, in rating for any other local cess, in assessing them for their Income-tax. How can we expect that the rent-receivers,—knowing that the more nearly they affirm to the reality they will be more highly taxed, not once only, but twice, and perhaps yet again under new forms of taxation—will do else than furnish a general understatement of their profits ? Lastly, a consideration remains, a consideration less obvious perhaps than others, and one which may not strike all our readers with an equal force, but no less certain and true, that the wide-spread uneasiness and apprehension that our unconcealed discussions upon the validity of the Permanent Settlement have aroused among the native landholders, will induce not only all zemindars directly, but indirectly also all their under-tenants to depreciate their rental as far as possible, wherever practicable ; fearing lest if a large profit on their estates be made known, a large increase on the revenue of their settlement will infallibly ensue.

The second leading principle of the Committee is "that ryots

"are to pay a portion of the cess in proportion to the rent of their holdings." The ryot is to pay a tax, and the tax is to be a fixed percentage of his profits, and the ryot's profits are assumed to be equal to the amount of his rent-roll. From this doctrine also we feel it a duty to unreservedly dissent—we believe it to be thoroughly unjust. It is, we think, a doctrine exceptionally misguided and mischievous even among the extraordinary opinions enunciated by the Committee in their report. In the first place we take upon ourselves to deny wholly that there is any sufficient reason for the direct liability of ryots under the Road Cess Act at all: in the second place, granting their liability, we utterly denounce the justice of assessing them with the tax, man by man, in proportion to the rent of their holdings; and in the third place, we repudiate as intolerable and oppressive not only the iniquitous incidence of the tax as between ryot and ryot, but also its disproportionate proportion between the ryot and zemindar.

We condemn the imposition of the tax upon the cultivating ryot from considerations of expediency. No previous legislature has ever ventured to impose direct taxation upon the Bengal peasantry. The income-taxes have continuously excluded the poorer classes of the community; the recent financial tendency of the Government has rightly been to recede still further from contact with the actual cultivators of the soil—the current income-tax for instance exempts them altogether—and even though it be true, as we certainly believe, that all taxes on the landholders are eventually paid for by their ryots, we cannot forget that it is a matter of profound political importance, whether the ryots pay their taxes indirectly, through the medium of an increased rent, or directly through the suggestively unpopular incidence of a legal impost.

Over and above however this obvious argument of expediency, a technical objection arises to the principle of the Committee, upon the terms of the despatch of the Secretary of State, which directs that this local cess shall be levied only "on the holder of *property* accessible to the rate." For if by "*property*" we are to understand something on which a man has a real hold, something that is realizable and transferable, something of which an occupier enjoys more than a mere usufruct, it seems indisputable that the large mass of Bengal cultivating ryots ought to be declared exempt. Ryots with a right of occupancy, it has been ruled, have no transferable interests in their holding; and tenants-at-will, or Ootbundi ryots as they are called in some districts—temporary tenants who do not even cultivate under any written authority—possess, as our readers well know, only a current year's interest in the soil they have cultivated, a right only to the profits of the crop they have sown. It is surely

only by a violent and unjustifiable wrench to language that such men can be said to hold "property." The elasticity of the famous despatch has, however, been alleged to be equal to the emergency. It is complacently pointed out that in another paragraph, the Secretary of State has laid down, that "no exemption of any class of landholders can be admitted." The Land Cess as contemplated in the Road Cess Act must therefore, it is affirmed, be a tax upon the profits of land—not upon property in the land—and in this aspect it is contended that its purview is comprehensive enough to entertain even the poorest and meanest agriculturist. This position has been maintained seriously, upheld energetically, and sanctioned by the highest authority. * The Road Cess Act has been decided in principle and practice to be a tax on profits. An annual and precarious holding in land has been held to constitute the right of a land-holder. A "land-holder," with such a holding, living actually from hand to mouth, at the mercy of his landlord, not knowing whether next year he may be able to procure his own uncertain subsistence, and rack-rented necessarily for his holding, is assessed by Government for a Road Cess, upon the "profits" of the holding. Yet, to be consistent, if we raise a local cess upon one kind of profits, we ought not to exempt another; to be just, if we tax the profits derived from land, we ought to tax the profits derived from trade and merchandize. The incidence of the Cess Act has been directed to impinge upon the landholders, it has been centralised upon the ryot; why does it not strike the profits of the money-lender and mahajun? It falls upon the debtor; why does it avoid the creditor? It impoverishes the poor; why does it enrich the wealthy? The man from whom the ryot will borrow the money to pay his cess, escapes scot-free; the ryot to whom that money is lent, pays not only his cess, but the money-lender's loan with usury. An Ootbundi ryot is assessed upon his profits; such ryots have no profits, they cultivate not to profit but to live. An Ootbundi ryot is assessed upon the hypothesis that his profits equal his rack-rent: his rack-rent is a demand to the amount of that rent in excess of the means of his subsistence; the profits of rack-rented ryots are a euphemism for their mahajun's loan.

* The Lieutenant-Governor indeed, it is only fair to say, shifted this ground, as far as he himself was concerned, and argued that we ought to tax the ryots simply as "occupiers of the land." But as a matter of fact the ryot has been taxed on his rental, which is assumed to be equal to his profit, without any pro-

test from Mr. Campbell, or indeed any one else in Council. Our legislators were unable to give up the profit theory, for if they had done so the proportion of the incidence of the tax would have had to be altered also. The Lieutenant-Governor's protest was after all merely a verbal quibble.

The second basis of our objection to the principle of levying a tax upon the ryot's rental, rests not less upon the inherent injustice of such a tax upon a large and defenceless section of the community, than upon its relative inequality between the individual members of that community.

The Committee have stated in the commencement of their report, that three courses had suggested themselves to their minds as a foundation upon which a land cess might be reasonably calculated. The tax, they say, it was offered to them, might either have been imposed in proportion to the Government revenue, or to the aggregate rental of the estate, or to the acreage of the land, gross or cultivated. Of these three alternatives, they rejected the basis of Government revenue as unfair; they relinquished that of acreage as impracticable; but they chose the rental as equitable, accessible, and "worthy of adoption." They chose the rental as blindly as Paris chose Aphrodite. A sound criticism on their judgment in its general aspect was very felicitously taken by A COLLECTOR in his letter to the *Indian Observer*, published on the 9th of June. "If the Committee," he points out, "had had before them to "consider a heavy charge upon the land, such as the land revenue itself, and had been driven to look more closely into the "subject, they would have seen that there is only one basis for "a fair assessment on land, *viz.*, its value. The value of land is "a compound of acreage, fertility and commercial advantages. "Such a basis could be ascertained only after a detailed enquiry—"in other words, a settlement." The argument however to which we are desirous of attracting attention in this paper is of a more special nature. To reject the Government revenue, and in the same breath to assume the ryot's rental as a basis of assessment, seems to us partial and one-sided. The seventh paragraph of the report of the Committee explains why it was impossible to tax the cess upon the Government revenue of the estate. The considerations adduced in that paragraph are no doubt perfectly correct. They carry persuasion with them. They were drawn up by members of the Committee, gentlemen and zemindars, whose knowledge of that subject entitles their opinion to great weight. They state that the Government revenue of an estate bears no proportion to its value; and arguing from this premiss, they satisfactorily show the inequity of a tax upon the revenue. It might have been thought that the writers of the report would have been willing to go further, and logically apply their reasoning in behalf of the rental of the under-tenants. We had confidently expected that the members of the Committee would have remembered, that the incidence of rental was at least as fortuitous in this country as the incidence of revenue; and if we had not seen it,

we could never have believed, that so far from appearing to recollect this circumstance, they positively declare "that taking ryot by ryot, and without going into detailed enquiries, they consider a ryot's profit to be pretty nearly equal to the amount of rent he pays." This grossly inaccurate supposition has been elsewhere traversed and refuted. The Committee themselves confess that their "conclusion is rather based upon experience and general estimate than upon enquiries and calculation, but for the particular purpose to which they apply it, and in the absence of procuring more correct data, they think it sufficiently near the truth to be adopted as the basis of calculation." We will content ourselves with suggesting another hypothesis which is, we venture to think, somewhat more closely in accordance with the facts. We appeal to the knowledge of our Mofussil readers as to whether we are right or not. The rental of a ryot's holding, we submit, bears no more a fixed proportion to the value of that holding, than the revenue of a Government estate bears to the value of the estate. There are *Kaimi jummas* of 2 annas to the biggah, there are rack-rent jummas of 2 rupees. There are ryots with a permanent interest in the soil, whose rent was perhaps fixed fifty years ago or even before the Decennial Settlement, and is therefore nominal and unalterable; there are ryots with a right of occupancy whose rents are liable to enhancement only under certain conditions, and are therefore variable; there are tenants at will whose rents are always at a rack rate. There are tenants who cultivate their landlord's own lands at a trifling rent, but whose actual profits are divided *bhag jote* with the landlord: there are tenants who have paid a quitance for their rent altogether in money, or possibly by some personal obligation. There are service ryots who pay at a lower rate than others: there are ryots connected in marriage or family with their zemindar. It is well known throughout the Indigo districts, that a general concurrence has been established between the planters and their tenants, that indigo plant shall count in favour of the latter as an equivalent for rent. The planter's books are often merely a careful counterpoise between their zemindari and indigo accounts. The ryot who sows indigo compromises his dislike to that cultivation by paying but a quit rent of five, six, seven, or eight annas a biggah all round upon his jumma: the ryots who do not sow, have to pay the full rate at twelve or fourteen annas or one rupee. It is notorious also that zemindars' ryots pay, as a rule, a lower rate than the ryots of an under-tenant. The system of subinfeudation is a system of "profits upon profits." "Even a bad sovereign" says Adam Smith, "feels more compassion for his people than can be expected from the farmers of his revenue." The more deeply an estate is sub-let, the higher will be its gross rental; and the higher

the rent the cultivators have to pay, the higher will be their tax. In some holdings the rental may be ninety per cent., in others five per cent., in others even less than five per cent. of the profit of the ryot. Sometimes ryots even cling to their jumma at a net loss ; "so that" to reverse the words of the Committee "in a tax upon rental, not only is there an enormous inequality of incidence, but "the heaviest demand falls precisely upon those holdings where the "rental bears the largest proportion to the gross proceeds, and where "the ryot has the smallest margin and is least able to pay the demand." The less the profits, the higher the tax : and in the further proportion, we may add, that ryots are poorer than zemindars, and petty holdings more numerous than estates, a tax upon the ryots' rental will be still more oppressive and still less in accordance with the rules of economical finance than a tax upon the revenue of zemindars to Government. Perhaps had Mr. Campbell been aware how widely this view of the unjust incidence of the new Act is being bruited about the country, and how profound a feeling of disaffection has already spread itself in the villages near Calcutta and along the line of rail, he would have hesitated before committing himself to the last move from which there is no retreat.

We now proceed to our third thesis, that the incidence of the tax is wholly disproportioned between the ryot and zemindar. "Assuming the Government revenue paid throughout "Bengal" writes Mr. Schalch, "to be four hundred lakhs of rupees a "year, and allowing the gross rental of estates to be, one district with "another, threetimes the Government revenue, the entire gross rental "of Bengal would be twelve hundred lakhs of rupees." Eight hundred lakhs therefore represents the income or profits of the middlemen and estate holders. Eight million of pounds sterling ! Yet, out of this princely allowance, they are to pay less to Government than the wretched peasantry out of their squalor and indebtedness. An annual cess of one-half of an anna in each rupee of gross rental would yield about 37½ lakhs. The ryots under the Act are to pay one-half of the rate. They will pay nearly 19 lakhs. But from the total of the rate must be deducted a proportion of one-half, or three pies in the rupee on the Government revenue of four millions—a percentage aggregating to almost six lakhs—which is to be paid to the zemindars. This deduction will directly reduce the cess payable by them to that amount. The ryots will pay at least to that extent in excess of their landlords.

The general principle of this part of the Act is that the landlords are taxable on their profits, minus a percentage for cost and risk ; and the ryots on their rental. The practical rules laid down are as follow :

1. Each ryot pays to the person to whom he pays his rent one-half of the declared rate of cess upon that rent.

2. Each intermediate tenant pays to his superior tenant the entire declared rate upon the gross annual value of his tenure, less one-half of the declared rate upon the rent he pays for his tenure.

3. The zemindar, in exactly the same way, pays to the collector the entire declared rate upon the annual value of his estate, less one-half of the declared rate upon the Government revenue of his estate.

We subjoin a detailed illustration—a very favorable illustration, the conditions being proposed not by ourselves but by the Committee—to explain the effect of these arrangements.

A, a zemindar, pays a sudder jumma of one thousand rupees to Government. He realizes nine hundred rupees direct from his ryots; fifty rupees from B, and fifty from C, two makar-raridars; and five hundred from D, a patnidar of part of his estate. B and C severally realize seventy-five rupees from their respective ryots; and D six hundred rupees direct from his ryots, and four hundred from E a darpatnidar to whom he has sub-let a part of his patni. E again realizes six hundred rupees direct from his ryots: thus:—
The zemindar pays 1,000 rupees Government revenue—

Makarraridar...	...	Rs. 50	Ryots Rs.	75
Ditto ...	...	" 50	"	75
Patnidar ...	...	" 500	"	600
Darpatnidar ...	...	" 400	"	600
Khass Ryots	...	" 900	"	900

Gross rental of the estate... 2,250

We assume also that the zemindari rate is three pies in the rupee, and that the ryotti rate is three pies: the aggregate rate being six pies.

I. Then the zemindar has to pay six pies on Rs. 2,250, less three pies on Rs. 1,000; being 13,500 pies less ...

... 3,000 = 10,500

He recovers from his Khass ryots three pies on ...

900 = 2,700

And from B Makarraridar six pies on Rs. 75, less three pies on 50; being 450 less ...

150 = 300

From C Makarraridar the same ...

300

He recovers also from the Patnidar six pies on 1,200, less three pies on 500: being 7,200 less ...

1,500 = 5,700

Total recovery ... 9,000 9,000

His personal contribution being therefore ... 1,500

II. The Patnidar pays as above	...	...	5,700
He recovers from his Khass ryots			
three pies on ..	600	=	1,800
And from the Darpatnidar six			
pies on Rs. 600, less three pies on			
Rs. 400 : being 3,600 less 1,200		=	2,400
			<hr/>
Total recovery	...	4,200	4,200
			<hr/>

The Patnidar's personal contribution is therefore ... 1,500

III. The Darpatnidar pays as			
above ..	...	...	2,400
And recovers from his ryots			
three pies on Rs. 600	...	=	1,800
			<hr/>

His personal contribution therefore is ... 600

IV. The Makarraridars each			
pay as above ..	...	...	300
And severally recover from their			
ryots three pies on Rs. 75	...	=	225
			<hr/>

They therefore each contribute ... 75

The landlords thus have paid altogether :—

	<i>Pies.</i>
A. Zemindar ...	1,500
B. Makarraridar ...	75
C. Makarraridar ...	75
D. Patnidar ...	1,500
E. Darpatnidar...	600
	<hr/>
Total ...	3,750

And their total profits are as follow :—

	<i>Rupees.</i>
A. Zemindar gets 900 + 50 +	
50 + 500	...
And he pays rent	...
	= 1,500
	1,000
	<hr/>
His profit is therefore	...
	500
	500
B. Makarraridar gets 75 and pays 50	
His profit is therefore	...
	25
	25
C. Makarraridar do. do.	...
	25
	25

D. Patnidar gets 600 + 400 ...	=	1,000	
And pays rent ...		500	
		<hr/>	
So that his profit is ...		500	500
E. Darpatnidar gets 600 and pays 400 :			
His profit is ...	..	200	200
		<hr/>	<hr/>
Total profits ...			1,250

Thus each fixed tenant (including the zemindar) has contributed exactly three pies upon every rupee *of his profit*.

Note however at the same time how the ryots have paid. Referring back to our calculations we find that the

	Pies.
1. Zemindari Khas ryots have paid ...	2,700
2. Patnidari Khas ryots have paid ...	1,800
3. Darpatnidari ryots have paid ...	1,800
4. Makarraridari ryots have paid ...	450
	<hr/>
	6,750

Each ryot has paid exactly three pies upon every rupee *of his rental*. But out of the 10,500 pies that are eventually levied from the zemindar, the ryots have paid 6,750 and the landlords only 3,750.*

The facts call for no comment. The cultivating ryots it is clear pay nearly twice as much as all their landlords put together. The reason of this is explained to be, that the zemindars must be compensated for the trouble and risk of collecting the rate !!

We have thus glided almost imperceptibly to our final and culminating criticism on the fourth principle of the Committee, that the "cess is to be collected from the ryot by the zemindar." Serious, as we believe, and insurmountable as are the many imperfections it has been our melancholy duty to expose in the new scheme of Bengal local taxation, they all pale into comparative insignificance before the present. The Committee, alas ! "think that it requires no argument to show that their plan for "the realization of the cess is necessarily the most convenient, "both for those who have to pay the tax, and those who have to "receive it." They declare the point to be so clear, that nothing

* And yet according to the recommendation of the Committee, the ryots were to pay three-fourths of the tax—which in point of incidence would actually have been five-sixths—

and Mr. Wordie was positively not ashamed to propose in Council that the zemindars should be specially remunerated for collecting the cess.

can be said against it, and nothing therefore need be said in its favour. But in our judgment, on the contrary, there is no lack of reasons to be brought up in opposition. However convenient the plan may be to the zemindar who has to collect the tax, however convenient it may be to the Collector who has to receive it, it will be, we cannot but think, most pernicious and mischievous in its operation on the ryot who has to pay it. The evil and, we are persuaded, the inevitable tendencies of the provision are to harass the under-tenant, to unsettle his rights, to enrich the zemindari servants, to grant a new lease of life to the baneful influence of the mahajun, to legalize extortion, to aggrandize the zemindar. The encouragement of agriculture is, we need hardly repeat, essential to our national prosperity and welfare. "The Hindús who form the body of the people, are compelled, by the dictates of religion, to depend solely upon the produce of the land for their subsistence; and the generality of such of the lower orders of the natives who are not of that persuasion are, from habit or necessity, in a similar predicament." The wealth of Bengal consists mainly in its agricultural resources; the greater part of the materials required by her manufactories, and most of the articles of her export are derived from land. The producers of this wealth comprise seven-tenths of the population of these provinces. They produce this wealth but do not enjoy it. In the words of the late Court of Directors "they live all their days on rice, and go covered with a slight cotton cloth." They are a simple, frugal, and feeble people; an ignorant, oppressed, poverty-stricken, and degraded race. They are easily defrauded, easily beaten, and slow to wrath. They are the victims of those who are set in authority over them: they cannot bear to be alone: they are utterly spiritless and dependent. The relationship between a Bengal zemindar and his ryot is not the simple relationship of landlord and tenant. It is not merely that the zemindar collects the rents and the ryot pays them. The social aspect of the land tenure system of Bengal are not those of Ireland, or England, or of any country in Europe. The zemindar and ryot are as king and people: they as monarch and subject: the cultivators call their landlord *Raja*, and his bailiff *Hakim*; there is a *Raja Proja sumbhundhiyo*. The ryot creates wealth, and the zemindar appropriates it like an oriental prince. What the zemindar asks, the ryot will give. What the zemindar orders, the ryot will obey. The zemindar will tax his ryot for every extravagance that avarice, ambition, pride, vanity, or other intemperance may suggest. He will tax him for the *khuraki* of his naib, for the salary of his ameen, for the payment of his income-tax, for the liquidation of his dák impost, for the purchase of an elephant for his own use, for the cost of the stationery of his establish-

ment, for the cost of printing the forms of his rent receipts, for the payment of his expenses to fight the neighbouring indigo planter, for the payment of his fine when he has been convicted of an offence by the Magistrate, for the payment of his vengeance upon the wretch through whom that conviction was secured. "The milkman gives his milk, the oilman his oil, the weaver his "clothes, the confectioner his sweetmeats, the fisherman his fish." The zemindar fines his ryots for a festival, for a birth, for a *shradh*, for a marriage: he levies black mail on them when an affray is committed, when one man lives clandestinely with his neighbour's wife, when an abortion is procured. He establishes his private pound near his cutcherry, and realizes five annas for every head of cattle that is caught trespassing on the ryots' crops. In the summer season, when the rice is ripening, and the fields all green unto the harvest, there are zemindars whom we know who obtain ten rupees for every cow impounded.

The abwabs pervade the whole zemindari system. In every zemindari there is a Naib—under the Naib there are Gumastahs—under the Gumastah there are Piyadas. The Naib exacts a *hisabana* or perquisite for adjusting accounts annually, at two pice, or sometimes one anna for every rupee he may collect. The Naib and Gumastahs take their share in the regular abwabs: they have their little abwabs of their own. The Naib occasionally indulges in an ominous raid in the Mofussil. The Gumastahs lay their hands on any articles they can get hold of: a neck cloth full of rice, a fresh fish, or a fattened chicken, or a tender goat: they have no scruples and are under no restraint. Collecting peons, when they are sent to summon defaulting ryots, exact from them daily four and five annas *tullubana*. It is well known that in one year a zemindari Naib, in the district of Nuddea, has exacted ten thousand rupees from his master's ryots. It is within our own experience, that quite lately, on occasion of favours conferred, a zemindari Naib received a *salami* of one thousand rupees.

That much of all this is illegal, admits of no question: abwabs, mhatoot and chout are forbidden, as is notorious, under the terms of the Permanent Settlement. The zemindar is liable under the law, to a penalty of three times the amount of all the sums he has collected. Yet we suppose it is not within the memory of the oldest official, that a case has been brought under the penal section of the regulation. Whether the ryots are willing to pay or are unwilling, it has been the immemorial practice to pay, and they pay accordingly. They pay because they always have paid; because it involves less trouble to pay than to refuse; because they would be ruined if they were to refuse; because they only pay a few pice at a time when they pay.

It is in this aspect that the collection provisions of the new Cess Act insinuate themselves so dangerously into the framework of Bengal society. The system of abwabs has eaten like an incurable disease into the social organism of this country. An energetic Government might have grappled with the question and succeeded in abolishing a practice, which, though forbidden by law, yet flourishes in unrestrained luxuriance. A benevolent Government would at least have attempted to alleviate the sufferings of a down-trodden and miserable peasantry. Yet no one raises a hand on their behalf; no one speaks one word in their interest. Either the important issues are not recognised, or if recognised, they are wilfully ignored. And what is worse,—our legislature does not content itself with an attitude of indifference; it rushes blindly in to legalize those exactions which have ever been condemned as a curse and blight on every chance possible outlet of rural independence. The zemindars, no doubt, will drive the wedge well through:—our imagination fears almost to contemplate the operation of this unhallowed Act, in remote villages at a distance from large towns and civil stations and courts of law, where the peasants are, in the words of the illustrious Ram Mohun Roy, “as innocent, temperate and moral in their conduct as the people of any country whatsoever.” We cannot even conceive the period when these simple-hearted ryots will be able to loosen themselves from the chain that is being rivetted about their feet. It seems as though they were doomed never to be emancipated from their present degraded life; and if we turn to the inhabitants of the country who live nearer the cities, who have more intercourse with foreigners and persons in another state of civilization, and men employed about the courts of law, who are already breaking off, in some degree, from the despotism of their landlord, and though not yet even faintly familiar with the conception of an independent state, are yet conscious of a freer and higher existence than their own—among these also, we can see no hope; and the gleam of light is gradually extinguished under the enactments of a zemindari legislature, while underlings go round from hovel to hovel and teach that what was illegal has been legalized, and taxes hitherto paid in resigned submission to moral force, are henceforth extorted under the inexorable requirements of an immoral law.

H J.S.C.

ART. VII.*—PHYSICAL SCIENCE IN THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

A SCHEME has lately been put forward having for its object the introduction of Physical Science, and other kindred subjects, into the schools and colleges of India.† It is contained in a Report of the Committee appointed, by the Calcutta University Syndicate, to investigate the best mode of effecting certain contemplated educational changes. The members of this Committee were Messrs. Woodrow, Ewart, Clarke, and Blanford,—names which are in themselves a sufficient guarantee for the abstract excellence of the scheme in its separate details, if not for its practicability when viewed as a whole. After carefully studying the Report, the conclusion I have arrived at is, that the teaching recommended in it would have an effect the very opposite of that so earnestly hoped for by the Committee:—instead of inculcating a knowledge of things or training the powers of observation, such teaching, owing to the peculiar conditions under which it must be applied, would but add to the already excessive amount of mere book-knowledge and to an additional overstraining of the memory in accumulating mental stores which cannot be permanently retained.

The expression chosen, in order to designate the proposed course of study, is open to objection. In speaking of "Natural and Physical Science," is it intended that the term Natural should include Physical Science and something more; or, is it only used for the sake of emphasis? From the introduction of Physical Geography, Botany, and Zoology, it is evidently not intended to confine the new studies within the limits of Physical Science, or indeed of Abstract Science at all. But still the phrase 'Natural and Physical Science' does not accurately describe the Course recommended by the Committee. The only meaning that can properly be attached to 'Natural Science' is, 'that body of science which deals with the laws of Nature.' If this definition be accepted, the word 'Physical' becomes superfluous; but at the same time the word 'Natural' by itself would include a far wider range than that to which the Committee has restricted itself. This may be a small matter, but if we are to cultivate, in our pupils, the faculty of accurate observation, it seems desirable that

* As this article is signed with the writer's name, the word 'I' has been used instead of the conventional 'we.'

† This use of the word 'India,' the whole being put for a part, seems

very inaccurate. Custom has no doubt sanctioned it, but not to such an extent as to render a stricter expression at all unbecoming in official documents.

we should ourselves be strictly accurate in the phraseology we employ.* Considering that the Art of Drawing has been included in addition to the three before-mentioned Concrete Sciences, it would, perhaps, be somewhat difficult to find any concise expression well fitted to convey a tolerably clear idea of the whole curriculum.

In the following remarks the different points will be discussed in the order in which they occur in the Report, though that order is not the best that might have been chosen.

As to Drawing.† It is not quite evident whether Drawing is proposed to be introduced as an artistic accomplishment or not. From the approval bestowed upon the opinion of Mr. T. W. Webb, who has expressed "his regret that a certain amount of artistic skill is not considered absolutely necessary in a liberal education," it would seem that this subject is recommended for its artistic as well as for its scientific value. Assuming this view to be correct, the proposal of the Committee must be considered,—(1) from the stand-point of Art, (2) from that of Science.

First then let the question be asked,—Is the teaching of Drawing, as a branch of Art, likely to prove successful? Is the national *Æstheticism* such as to render our European lessons in any way profitable? The taste for Art, whether foreign or indigenous, appears to be extremely feeble, at least in Bengal; it would require to be developed, at first, in a few chosen minds, and for these special institutions would be necessary. The development should be effected not, as we are now attempting to effect it, by forcing oriental Art into western grooves,‡ but by improving upon the ancient models which the genius of native artists gave birth to under the old theocratic organisation. The great mistake we make in all our social experiments is, the neglecting to allow for the peculiar conditions of the medium which we endeavour to modify. We imagine that because a certain line of action has proved to be advantageous in England, it must be equally advantageous in every other part of the world. We make no ade-

* The phraseology of the Report is occasionally extremely loose; in one passage, which will be noticed presently, it is perfectly unintelligible.

† This subject is recommended for F.A. and B.A. students in the colleges, not for the schools.

‡ The *Illustrated London News* (July 22, 1871), in describing the Indian Department of the International Exhibition, says:—"Little good can be expected from teaching fine art after the manner which ap-

pears to be practised in the Government Schools of Art in India. Among the contributions from the art schools of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and elsewhere, are painfully laborious copies of trashy English prints, of photographs after common place art objects, of poor engravings from Carlo Dolce and Guercino; together with weak imitations of table ornaments with Parian figures, and ridiculous parodies of antique statuettes in the shape of ivory carvings."

quate allowance for the perturbations which arise from differences of race, religion, past history, and actual state of development. Our planet must always move in a circle, because the circle is the only perfect curve; we obstinately refuse to acknowledge that the scheme of things has been so arranged as to twist our ideal circles into tortuous paths which require the most patient toil and elaborate ingenuity in order to be correctly deciphered. European Art, it may confidently be predicted, will never succeed in India unless its accidents are so modified as to adapt it to the national imagination. The basis of Art, in each of its fundamental forms,* is the same everywhere; but the modes of expression are infinitely various. The difference between Hindú and European Art may be illustrated by a familiar example taken from the most general Art, Poetry. The *Iliad* and the *Mahábhá-rata*† were the offspring of a faculty which is the same in all nations and in all ages; but the difference between these two poems, in every respect except their general *Æsthetic* basis, is immense, and this difference is exactly typical of the permanent antithesis between the Art of Europe and of India. Change as it may, the Art of India will always preserve certain characteristic features. The past cannot be annihilated, but will ever exert a potent influence in controlling and colouring the present; to utterly abolish the idols whose worship has endured for three thousand years or more, is a task not so easy of accomplishment as many enthusiasts seem to imagine.

Secondly, as to the scientific aspect of Drawing. However useful this Art may be to one who aims at becoming an accomplished Mathematician, it is surely in no way essential to an ordinary student. The course of reading up to the B.A. is intended for general and not for special purposes, for giving a preliminary education which may enable men to become good members of society and not mere devotees of some single intellectual pursuit. To attain this end the scientific elements should only enter so far as to convey a tolerably correct notion of the fundamental laws of nature, and to show that the two great realms, of Man on the one side and of the World on the other, are pervaded by a fixed Order,—fixed but not immutable, it being the high prerogative of Man to introduce into this Order modifications and improvements within certain limits; and by understanding it aright to avail himself of the experience of the Past in foreseeing,

* Poetry, Music, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture. This arrangement of the *Æsthetic* Hierarchy is according to the decrease in generality of the several departments.

† These poems have been chosen

because they both belong to the same stage of intellectual development; a stage which in India has persisted, with only slight changes, until now, while in Europe it has undergone the most profound modifications.

and providing against, the exigencies of the Future. The general student, however, must be content to know that there is an Order, that this Order can be judiciously modified, and that the Future can be predicted from the Past. The actual task of modification or prediction must be left to higher minds. To be in a position to appreciate, for ordinary purposes, the fundamental laws of nature, all that is required is a knowledge of Plane Geometry and Algebra, and of the elements of Physical and Biological Science. For the present we had better omit Biology, contenting ourselves with Mathematics and Physics: these two latter sciences being in themselves sufficient to disclose, to him that hath eyes to see, the majesty of the universal Kosmos. Now all the Mathematics that are essential for a due comprehension of elementary Physics are, Arithmetic, Plane Geometry, and elementary Algebra. Drawing, however useful in itself, or as an aid to Solid Geometry, is quite unnecessary for the generality of minds.*

It is easy enough to show that the teaching of almost any subject whatever might be attended with certain intellectual, and perhaps even moral, advantages. But the true question to be considered here is this,—Are the benefits to be derived from the study of Drawing at all commensurate with the time and labour that must be spent upon it, and with the sacrifice that must be made in other directions in order to secure for this study a proper share of attention; and, even admitting that a few may reap all the anticipated benefits, is it at all likely that the bulk of the students will be a whit better off than they now are? The many would make but little progress, and would be only too glad to disburden their minds, at the earliest possible moment, of what few hazy notions they might have acquired: knowledge which does not sink deeply into the mind, which is not thoroughly assimilated, is sure to be thrown aside when it has served its one essential object, in the eyes of the student,—that of passing the University Examinations.

In regard to the cultivation of the observing (or *inductive*) faculty, it may be remarked that the proper development of this faculty must necessarily be a very gradual process in a country so essentially metaphysical, and so stationary in all its modes of thought and action, as India is and has been ever since the downfall of Buddhism. Little, if anything, can be effected by lessons in Drawing or Physics given, in the schools and colleges, to children who belong to a single social

* In England I should advocate the introduction of both Drawing and Music into educational institutions of every class; but in India there is much to be done before such studies can become profitable even in the colleges.

class; and who are allowed to receive our education not, in the vast majority of instances, for the sake of culture, but for the emoluments which a knowledge of English is likely to confer upon them in after-life. This utilitarianism is not unnatural. The State pays half the expense of education, and provides a fair number of comfortable appointments, at the end of the academical career. It would not be in human nature to neglect such an opportunity, but it would be well if the fact were more frankly recognized. It is surely time after the experience of so many years to give up the metaphysical theory that a Government, and that too an alien Government, can force upon a nation, by mere official machinery, unaccustomed habits, whether social or intellectual. The vast avalanche of Hindú Polytheism, strong with the inertia of thirty centuries, will not, we may rest assured, be swept aside from the pathway of civilization by the tiny efforts of a few European savans and *littérateurs*, well-meaning and earnest men though they be. What the early Jesuits, with their burning zeal and imposing creed, failed to do, we, with our paltry nostrums and discordant utopias, shall certainly not succeed in accomplishing.

A most serious difficulty, in the application of such a scheme as that recommended by the Committee, is the expenditure it would entail. It is unnecessary to mention here all the various items for which sums of money, more or less in amount, would be required. To any one who studies the Report it will be manifest that the suggestions contained in it could not be carried out except by incurring a considerable outlay. At a time when financial economy is especially imperative, we are hardly justified in imposing upon the public exchequer additional burdens, without a full conviction that the tribute levied will be fertile of good. It seems monstrous that the masses of India, heavily taxed as they are, should have to pay for the trial of this or any other such hazardous educational experiment. If the desire for instruction in science is so great that the students themselves will consent to pay an extra fee for it, or if private liberality is willing to lend its powerful aid, well and good; under such circumstances this or some similar experiment might with justice be tried. But if funds cannot be thus obtained, then it is unfair to have recourse to the public purse, unless indeed equivalent retrenchments can be made in other directions: although doubtless there are many who would be of opinion that the money had better remain in the pockets of the overburdened tax-payers, if such retrenchments could be effected.

The zillah and minor aided schools appear to be the institutions upon which, in the opinion of the Committee, Science ought to lavish her chief favours. These are to be the special

objects of her love. But the schools are the very institutions where this experiment is least likely to prove successful, where, in fact, failure is inevitable. The youth of the pupils, the inexperience of the teachers, the unscientific medium in which the ordinary Hindú lives, the difficulty of obtaining and preserving the requisite apparatus, the technicality of scientific language, the absence of anything like museums or institutes,—are obstacles, any one of which might induce us to pause in the attempt to bring about such a change, but which in combination present a solid rampart of resistance that is absolutely insurmountable. Hence there can be little doubt that any money spent upon this experiment in the schools will be altogether wasted.

Another serious difficulty is that we have no instruments with which to work the plan. The Committee appear to take a very sanguine view both of the Hindú capacity for assimilating scientific knowledge, and of their own power to instil into the minds of untrained teachers a clear conception of the delicate processes of Experimental Physics. We are told that it will “be necessary to bring the head or second master of each zillah school to Calcutta for a month, or possibly more, in the cold weather, when Mr. Woodrow will undertake that they shall be taught to manipulate the apparatus which it is proposed to supply to the zillah schools.” That Mr. Woodrow would make the very best of his time is certain, and where he would fail no one else would be likely to succeed; but, while conceding so much, I cannot refrain from expressing my very decided opinion that Mr. Woodrow has enormously overrated the quality of the material upon which he would have to operate. Can it be that men, who, after many years of assiduous labour, have not succeeded in acquiring an English style which can be regarded as even approximately pure or correct, will, in a few months, become such efficient experimentalists as to be able, on their return to the mofussil schools, to inspire their pupils with a real love of science, not with a mere idle curiosity such as might be exhibited over some ingenious and startling feats of legerdemain? All who know and rightly appreciate the extremely superficial results of our educational system, in the subjects now taught, must be profoundly sceptical as to the existence of a stratum of native instructors which the Committee has only to tap, in order that fountains of pure science may gush forth, as the Report seems to indicate, in refreshing and perennial streams. Good teachers of Physical Science cannot be evoked from chaos by the mere waving of a magician’s wand, even though that magician be the most skilful and accomplished savant of whom western Europe can boast.

For any educational experiment to answer in this country there must be some strong and constant stimulus at work—a stimulus

which appeals not merely to the imagination but also to the practical instincts of the people. The hope of winning Government appointments, or of reaping professional success, provides the requisite stimulus at present. But are we entitled to consider the results so obtained as altogether beneficial to the individuals themselves, or as likely to exert a healthy influence upon their countrymen at large? Is it thus that Science, or any other great and noble cause, has ever yet triumphed among the sons of men? Look at the progress of Science in Europe from the earliest times till now; how slow, how painful, it has been. For centuries we spat upon her and buffeted her; she sat in our midst clothed in sackcloth and wearing upon her saintly brow a diadem of thorns. Amidst scorn and suffering she lived on, continuing to pour forth rich blessings upon an ungrateful world, till at length hatred was turned to scorn, indifference to respect; and now the Weeping Mother, sad no longer, sits upon her throne of glory, receiving the perfect love of her faithful children, the deferential homage of all, while many of us look to her as destined to reign, the indubitable Queen of the whole planet in a distant future. It is not to be desired of course that India, in order to secure the benefits of science, should undergo the same long and tedious conflict; but it is useless to disguise the fact that there must be a conflict of some kind, that without suffering and partial disturbance no signal advantages, either moral or intellectual, can be acquired by any nation as real and ever-enduring possessions. As for this new and latest project that has emanated from the phrontisterium of the Calcutta University, it might perchance produce some showy effect after the machinery had been first set in motion, but the original outburst of enthusiasm would speedily subside when the inspiring accents of such men as Mr. Woodrow were no longer heard. The whole business would then degenerate into a hollow and dreary formalism, and Physical Science would end by being but another victim immolated upon the altars of that preposterous Deity which presides over competitive examinations. Have we not fed the maw of this ugly ogre with sacrifices enough? "Three things," the royal gnomist tells us "are never satisfied, yea, four things say not, it is enough." Had Solomon lived in the 19th century, he would surely have added to his catalogue a fifth thing that is ever crying "give, give," and is never satisfied.

The teaching of Physical Science in the schools of India* must necessarily soon become an affair of text-books. It would take

* To prevent misconception it may be stated here that I am not adverse to an increased amount of Physical Science in the colleges; but in my opinion, the plan of the Committee is not likely to answer either in schools or colleges.

at least one generation to train a sufficient number of teachers competent for the work. And even when the teachers are forthcoming, there is no environment beyond the school where the young scholar can occasionally breathe a scientific atmosphere and reinvigorate his mental forces by private meditation; he must trust solely to the bald and procrustean methods of the class-room. Moreover, the Committee appear not to have considered with due care the immense difficulty in this country of keeping the apparatus in anything like decent order. The negligence of the curators, and the influence of the climate, will, it is to be feared, soon bring to an untimely end the ingenious contrivances of Messrs. Ladd and Griffin; so that unless the University authorities are prepared to renew the apparatus once in every twelvemonth, if not oftener, the classes would come to a stand-still for want of proper instruments with which to illustrate the lessons of the text-book. Mr. Woodrow has promised to draw up a text-book for the Entrance Course, a labour which being to him one of love, and depending solely upon himself, he would no doubt perform admirably. He has also promised to inspire teachers in the space of about two months with the zeal and knowledge requisite for teaching his little treatise. If he cannot achieve this latter result, at any rate before the course is introduced, his book, however well-written, will be of little value. No text-book can, in a school, supply the place of a teacher; and no text-book that treats of Physical Science can be properly taught except by one who has made Physical Science a special study;* and who is gifted with a scientific intellect, that is, with an intellect which delights in reality and usefulness, in certainty and precision, rather than in vague surmises, unpractical theories, and slovenly habits of thought or action. Can Mr. Woodrow in two months, or in two years, replace metaphysical by scientific conceptions, make Plato yield to Aristotle, Aquinas to Bacon, Hindú subjectivity to European realism? Even supposing that a mind has acquired all the information necessary for the illustration of Messrs. Ladd and Griffin's boxes of apparatus, is it forthwith to be concluded that such a mind is either itself in the least degree scientific, or capable of properly communicating to others the simplest rudiments of scientific knowledge?

The Committee are of opinion that the present Entrance Course "is insufficient to occupy many of the candidates up to the age of

* The practice adopted in this country of setting persons to teach what they do not thoroughly understand is most injurious. In England first-class scholars and high wranglers may be found even in second-rate schools; here we entrust the

teaching of English in the best schools to graduates of very mean attainments. The consequence of this is that our whole system is vitiated from the bottom to the very top of the scale.

admission to the examination." It is said that well-qualified persons have witnessed to this supposed fact, but who these well-qualified persons are is not stated. Of the members of the Committee itself Mr. Woodrow is the only one who can have had any experience in Entrance Examinations,* the only one therefore who is at all entitled to speak with authority on this subject. It is hard to believe that any educationist, who has had much experience in Entrance Examinations, or who has had to deal with passed candidates during their first and second years in an affiliated college, could have given the evidence furnished by the well-qualified persons above alluded to. The present Entrance Course, in the case of a Hindú, comprises—(1) English, (2) Sanskrit or Bengáli, (3) History, (England and India), (4) Geography, (general and of India in particular), (5) Mathematics, including Elementary Arithmetic and Algebra, and the first four books of Euclid. When it is considered that all these subjects, with the exception of the second, must be mastered in a foreign language, and that too by mere striplings of 16 or 17, it will probably appear to an unprejudiced outsider that the Course† is not so insufficient as certain educational *doctrinaires* would have us to believe. It is notorious that even out of those who pass the Entrance Examination, and these are the *élite* of the schools, not 10 per cent. have any but the most superficial knowledge of their subjects; none of them, I can confidently assert, have an *accurate* knowledge. Their English, after eight or nine years of study, is still a mere Bengáli patois, and such, sad to be confessed, it remains unto the end. The students themselves are not wholly to blame for this, as things now are; they are brought up under a vicious system,‡ and it is impossible that the faults of style and idiom contracted in early life should be eradicated in after years. Correct spelling and correct idiom are learnt by habit and imitation, like speaking, or walking, or skating; so that if a bad habit is formed when young, no elaborate rules or painstaking attention will afterwards serve to break the chain of ill-regulated associations. Until we can supply the schools with teachers who have a thorough knowledge of the English language, we can never hope to send forth from the colleges men who can write English with the same purity that *any* first-class Oxford or Cambridge man can write either Greek or Latin. Among all the Hindú M.A.'s who have come under my

* I am not certain whether Mr. Woodrow has ever been an Entrance Examiner, but I am confident he is the only member of the Committee that can have been.

† It should be remembered that it is a pass Course, intended for aver-

age not for exceptional minds.

‡ I admit it would be very difficult to initiate a system by which good English scholars could be trained in any considerable numbers. We have much to contend against, and the difficulties are probably insuperable.

notice, I have not met with one who could write half a dozen consecutive sentences of perfect English. I mention this not as a reproach, but in order to open the eyes of Bengális themselves to the unsatisfactory nature of the training which they receive. If they really value an English education, they ought not to be slow in finding a suitable remedy.

To return to the qualifications of the Entrance candidates. As it would be generally allowed that our chief object is to impart to the young Bengáli a correct knowledge of the English language, it is not easy to understand how it can be maintained that the Entrance candidates are under-weighted, while their English remains in the state in which it now is. It is far more likely that we exact too much than too little. So long as we compel the examinee to write out all his answers to History, Mathematics, and Geography, in a foreign language, the task imposed upon him must be no light one; and, taking into account all the disadvantages under which he labours, it is rather a matter for surprise than otherwise that he performs that task as well as he does. The Mathematics of the Entrance candidates, though not so obtrusively bad as their English, is, as a rule, extremely defective. A few words on the general results of our mathematical teaching may perhaps here be not out of place. In my opinion Mathematics is the only subject in regard to which the educator can feel perfectly certain that the desired end has been obtained, the only one in which he feels himself thoroughly *en rapport* with the audience which he addresses. The number of our students who become fair mathematicians is much in excess of the number who become tolerably accomplished in English composition. Such a conclusion may not be verified by the marks given in University examinations, but these marks are no real criterion in the case of English, owing to the peculiar tests which we adopt for ascertaining a student's proficiency in our own language. But the conclusion will probably be acquiesced in by all who compare carefully the performances of the best mathematicians in the Honour Examinations with the performances of the best English scholars.* This result is no more than might be anticipated *à priori*, Mathematics being so general, simple, and abstract, that it appeals with overwhelming force to the intellects of every age and country. In the English language and literature there is very much that is addressed exclusively to national idiosyncracies. Hence it cannot be expected that a Hindú should ever be as familiar with English idiom and style as he is with the universal relations of Number, Space, and Time. India has had her Geometricians, her Algebraists, and her Astronomers, but her Literature has never

* I assume that the scientific and ratio among both average and superior literary aptitudes are in the same prior minds. ●

advanced beyond the poetic or imaginative stage. This poetic condition of language, persisting through so many successive generations, has at length taken firm hold upon the Hindú brain, and thus it is with great difficulty that our students can bring themselves to write in sober prose. An indigenous prose literature, not a thing of shreds and patches, but the shapely offspring of a pure and spontaneous inspiration, must spring up before the Bengáli will be able to appreciate thoroughly the great prose-writers of England or of any other European country. For the study of Mathematics his brain is well-organized, the deductive faculty is strong, requiring only careful cultivation and proper direction. But though this be the case, it affords no valid reason for increasing the amount of Mathematics taught in the schools; for English, after all, is the most important subject, and so long as there is room for improvement in English, no addition of any kind ought to be made to the present curriculum. The members of the Committee are of a different opinion; not content with prescribing a somewhat 'heroic dose of Physics,* they propose moreover to add to the recipe the Sixth Book of Euclid. The only reason given for this proposal is, that a knowledge of the Sixth Book would serve "as a preparation for Practical Geometry." The Committee appears to allow that it is laying down rules for "general education," for "a course of liberal education;" but such education (so far as Science is concerned) ought surely to deal with the Theoretical and not with the Practical, with the general and abstract, not with the special and concrete. If, therefore, the Sixth Book of Euclid is to be introduced into the Entrance Course, its introduction should be justified by some more cogent plea than that which the Committee has put forward. It has been shown before on general grounds that no addition should be made to the present Entrance Course, but there are special reasons which render the Sixth Book of Euclid unsuitable for schools. That book involves considerably more than the mere seven-and-thirty propositions of which it actually consists. Before a student can approach it, he ought to have thoroughly mastered the conceptions of ratio and proportion, from the geometrical point of view, and it is unnecessary for me to remind the Committee that those conceptions are highly abstruse, being in fact seldom properly grasped by any but professed mathematicians. If more Plane Geometry is to be introduced into the schools, some member of the Committee had better offer to

* The Course of Physical Science recommended for the Entrance candidates includes (1) Statics, (2) Hydrostatics, (3) Pneumatics, (4) Heat,

(5) Magnetism, (6) Voltaic Electricity, (7) Electro-Magnetism :—
O gens Infelix ! cui te exitio fortuna reservat ?

write a simpler and less diffuse text-book than Euclid's.* This proposal about the Sixth Book would probably never have been made, if it had not been deemed necessary to thrust Drawing (or, Practical Geometry as some might be inclined to term it) into the *Collegiate* course. The Geometry of the first four books of Euclid is really ample for the ordinary student up to the time of Matriculation; the number of those who have a marked special aptitude for Mathematics is too small to justify us in adapting the curriculum to their wants. In education, as in politics, we ought to legislate for the many not the few, for average not for exceptional minds; precocity of intellect, at a certain age, should be checked rather than encouraged. To pitch our standard too high would be a cruel policy; for we should confer no particular benefit upon the acutest minds, while the majority would be plunged into a state of hopeless confusion. The confusion at present is bad enough; this scheme I am now discussing, if sanctioned, would render it irremediable.

It appears from the Appendix to the Report that Entrance candidates are expected to write out general descriptions of the experiments which they have seen, and to illustrate these descriptions with figures. This, it may be unhesitatingly affirmed, is a task altogether beyond the power of an ordinary Bengali youth, writing in a foreign language. It is a task which even a well-educated Englishman would find no small difficulty in accomplishing. The faculty of clear and concise scientific expression is very rare, in fact among professed savans there are but few who possess it. To understand an experiment, and to write out a satisfactory explanation of it, are two totally distinct things. The former does not necessarily involve the latter, though the latter certainly presupposes the former. The only fair way to test a young Bengali's knowledge of Experimental Physics would be by a few simple *vivâ voce* questions. If he is to write out descriptions, they must be learnt by heart from the text-book. Perhaps the Committee intend that such should be the case. If so, let it be explicitly stated, and let us with sincere hearts acknowledge that we are merely about to burn a little additional incense in the already over-perfumed courts of that spacious temple sacred to the majestic Genius of Cram. If the student should attempt to explain experiments, in his own words, the explanations are sure to be both vague and diffuse, even when they involve no manifest

* Euclid probably composed his treatise as a kind of logical feat, to show how the whole Science of Geometry might be deduced from the fewest possible number of fundamental axioms. He never could have

intended it for children. As it is, he has not carried out his object with complete consistency. I am indebted for this idea to the late Professor. De Morgan.

absurdities. Such explanations, or rather disquisitions, would probably be not uncongenial to many a young Bengáli. As a general rule, a student in this country, if he can only get an opportunity for composing a sermon, is at home at once; he will manage to fill several pages with matter which might have been compressed, with exceeding profit to the reader, within a couple of lines. I once in a class-paper put the question,—What is Gravitation? One of the examinees, instead of condescending to explain what Gravitation really was, treated me to a long disquisition upon the important and disastrous results which would ensue to the universe at large if Gravitation were *not*. There is too much reason to fear that the subjects suggested by the Committee would give rise to many such answers, and would tend to unduly encourage the natural diffuseness of the Bengáli intellect.

The First Arts Course, in the case of a Hindú, at present comprises—(1) English, (2) Sanskrit, (3) Ancient History and Geography, (4) Mathematics, including Arithmetic, Algebra, Plane and Solid Geometry, Trigonometry, Statics, (5) Psychology and Logic. Here, as may be seen at a glance, we already have an amount of science by no means despicable, but this amount falls far short of that which would satisfy the scientific cravings of the Committee. It is admitted, in the Report, that the First Arts student, under the existing *régime*, has enough in quantity to tax to the utmost his intellectual energies, so that, in order to introduce new subjects, the old course must in some way be modified. Two alternative plans are proposed. The *first* of these is so obscure that I do not pretend to give an interpretation of it.* A colleague of mine, however, upon whose opinion I can rely, has informed me that the plan is this:—Take the above course as it stands, and add to it Drawing, Physical Geography of India, and either Botany or Chemistry.† This will give the new course as contemplated by the Committee. But in this course they propose that English only should be compulsory. Of the remaining subjects the candidate may take up as few or as many as he pleases, the sole condition being that he should obtain a certain minimum number of marks. “In order to provide against superficiality,” it is proposed “to deduct a certain fixed number (of marks) from the papers on each (optional) subject, as is the practice in the examinations for the Indian Civil Service.”‡ Assuming the foregoing interpretation

* The loose phraseology employed in this part of the Report is utterly unworthy of a document which deals with Science. If Science cannot teach us precision, it is surely of very little value. What meaning is to be attached to such a phrase as *optional*

but not alternative? Is it not a contradiction in terms?

† The student can select either Botany or Chemistry, but not both.

‡ The words in parentheses, in the above passage, are mine.

to be correct, the Committee appear to be very sanguine as to the prospects of their favourite subjects, should this alternative be adopted. They say :—"This would admit of, though it would not compel, a large introduction of Physical Science, and since it would release students from the necessity of passing in some of the present subjects of examination, it would doubtless tend practically to a considerable extension of Natural and Physical Science in the colleges." Those who have had much experience in teaching Hindús will be best able to judge how far these hopes are likely to be realized. The *second* alternative is, to make the proposed course of Drawing and Science compulsory, and "to remove one or more of the present obligatory subjects, for instance, Mental and Moral Science, to the optional list." This is undoubtedly the alternative which ought to be accepted if the University is anxious that more than one in twenty of our F.A. students should trouble themselves about Drawing, and Physical Geography, and Botany or Chemistry. It is to be hoped that the Senate will sanction neither alternative ; but if the majority of that body should happen to be fascinated by specious theories, and should be really desirous to obtain for these theories fair-play, then let them by all means adopt the second alternative, which the Committee ought to know full well, is the only one likely to secure their object. That they have some consciousness of this is manifest when they delicately suggest that "this plan will probably recommend itself to the Senate as being most effectual to the present object, and as involving the least interference with the present system."

What, I would ask, could have induced the Committee to select Drawing, Physical Geography, Botany, and Chemistry, rather than any other four subjects taken at random from some Encyclopædia of the Arts and Sciences ? If more Science is to be introduced, and under certain conditions more well might be introduced, it should be such as would thoroughly harmonize with that which already enters into the Course. Since Statics now form the limit of the scientific reading in the case of F.A. students, it would seem both natural and necessary that the next step should be Dynamics, and after that either Astronomy or Hydrostatics. What has Drawing to do with elementary Physical Science ? Why introduce at all such an eminently vague subject as Physical Geography, even though it be intended to refer to India alone ? Physical Geography, like Geology, is a subject which may be made to include every science, whether abstract or concrete, from Mathematics up to Physiology. Any new subjects that are introduced should be confined to Abstract Science, since this alone is sufficiently definite to form part of an elementary educational course. The youthful mind requires what is simple and definite, and should not be distracted by a multiplicity of

complex inquiries such as are to be met with in treatises on Physical Geography and Geology. Let us give the young only the basis of science, and on that basis they will be able, if they choose, in after years, to rear an ample superstructure. Time is short, and we cannot expect in four years to do more than impart the bare elements of Abstract Science; but these elements are enough, since they can supply the zealous and inquisitive mind with a key enabling it to unlock, if it chooses to make the attempt, all the natural secrets which Science has it within her power to disclose. Our object is not to make Newtons or Faradays, but simply to introduce our pupils to the chief results of modern thought, to promote among them habits of accuracy, and a liking for whatever is real in preference to what is visionary and unintelligible. Many of our students do not go beyond the F.A. Examination. To all such it would be infinitely more advantageous to have an intelligent appreciation of the Three Laws of Motion—those splendid prototypes of all subsequent inductive principles—than to have gained an insignificant smattering of Botany or Chemistry, and a feeble grasp of the Draughtsman's pencil. Nothing, moreover, is so fatal to real mental health as random scientific studies. Each science is in itself a compact and synthetic whole; no important part can be eliminated without breaking the uniform sequence of principles, and rendering the logical catena useless. As it is with each separate science, so it is with the *scale* of abstract fundamental sciences. From Mathematics to Physiology we have an unbroken series, and for dogmatic purposes this series should be taken in the ascending order, *viz.*, (1) Mathematics, (2) Astronomy, (3) Physics,—including Weight (Statics and Dynamics), Heat, Sound, Optics, Electrolgy,—(4) Chemistry, (5) Physiology.* As the tyro mounts the scale no one step can be passed over without serious injury to his subsequent progress. Each science has a twofold value, since each has a peculiar Logical Organum, and deals with a special class of Phenomena. The Phenomena dealt with are sufficiently well indicated by the names of the sciences. As to Logic,—in Mathematics, we have the organum of Deduction fully developed, in Astronomy that of Observation, in Physics that of Experiment, in Chemistry the art of Nomenclature is perfected, and in Physiology the best field is afforded for the application of the method of Comparison. Thus the Methods may be arranged in an ascending order, and this order evidently agrees with the order of their development in the mind of the individual, so that any discontinuity in our dogmatic instruction must be attended by a similar discontinuity in

* The scale may be continued, our present purpose, but these five sciences are enough for

the mental progress of those whom we instruct. The mind cannot leap from Mathematics to Chemistry, with Statics only for an intermediate resting-place, without incurring the penalty of such folly in the utter confusion of ideas which must necessarily be produced. The power of co-ordinating a small but well-selected store of facts is far more valuable than the acquisition of a huge farrago of miscellaneous unmethodized information. This power can only be acquired by pursuing scientific studies on a systematic plan. It is impossible to trace any rational plan whatever in the Committee's scheme, a more unscientific jumble of heterogeneous materials it would be hard to imagine.

We have seen that, with the exception of Chemistry and Statics, no Physics entered into the proposed F.A. Course. The first and second year students, apparently, are to rest content with the amount of Physical Science which they have imbibed while sitting at the feet of the scientific Gamaliels who have been taught, in a few brief months, how to manipulate the apparatus contained in certain boxes supplied by the chief instrument-makers of London. But, strange to say, that Physical Science which, if the true logical order of conceptions had been followed, should have entered into the F.A. Course, is found, by some inexplicable shuffling of the scale of sciences, among the B.A. studies. Astronomy, Hydrostatics, Heat, Optics, all of which should have been taken up before Chemistry, are reserved for the end, instead of the middle, of the student's career. In preference to any one of these subjects, which have so largely influenced the intellectual development of mankind, the Committee have chosen Botany, a subject well enough for those who make it a special study, but otherwise fit only as a pastime for the vacant hours of a summer-holiday. It is proposed that the B.A. Course, as it now stands, should be enriched by the addition of Drawing, Chemistry, Physics, and Zoology. The B.A. student, before he graduates, will thus have been carried, though in a very abrupt fashion, over almost the whole field of Abstract Science, from Mathematics to Physiology. Some of the strongest minds might profit by such a course, even though the mode of procedure were eminently unscientific. Strong minds, like strong constitutions, can often manage to find meat in what would be poison to the generality of men. But, as before observed, we are bound under penalty of failure to adapt our arrangements, not to the highest but to average intellects. In order that the benefit to be derived from a course of scientific study should be spread over the widest possible area, the subjects ought to follow one another in a logical and systematic order. There should be no confusion, no huddling together of discordant masses of knowledge, no irrational admixture of Theory and Practice. I am not myself averse

to the introduction of more science into our collegiate course. The plan I should recommend is a modest one, it may be, but it is perfectly safe, and might be easily widened if it were found to answer. The Entrance Course, in my opinion, should be left as it is, greater precautions however being taken to secure a tolerable knowledge of English. From the F.A. and B.A. Courses I would eliminate the group of studies which now go by the name of 'Philosophy.' I would then further modify the F.A. Course by strengthening the Statics and adding a portion of Dynamics. In the B.A. Course I should replace 'Philosophy' by the following—(1) Conic Sections, (2) the remaining portion of Elementary Dynamics, (3) Optics, (4) Sound, (5) Heat, and (6) Electrology.* It must be remembered that the B.A. Course already comprises Astronomy, a portion of Dynamics, and Hydrostatics, while Conic Sections and Optics are almost always taken up as the optional subjects. In the course I have here suggested, it will be observed that Physiology is conspicuous by its absence, and it is excluded not without reason. The Committee has proposed that we should teach Zoology. Now if Biological studies are to be introduced, it would be preferable so to arrange our teaching that it might be mainly abstract and yet bear as much as possible on the human subject.† Zoology is open to all the objections which may be urged against a *concrete* science, and to other special objections which apply to any Biological subject in our Indian colleges. The truth is, we have no officers in the department who are capable of properly teaching Biology in any form. To attempt to teach what is not thoroughly understood is dishonest;‡ and if the University render such an attempt necessary, it will be encouraging, in educational matters, a looseness of morality which cannot be sufficiently depre-

* Electrology includes Electricity, Magnetism, and Galvanism. The lessons given in Physical Science should not be overloaded with algebraical verbiage, they should be as simple and untechnical as possible.

† This, however, is a point on which I am not entitled to speak dogmatically. In selecting Human Physiology, I am aware that a serious break is made in the Biological scale; but whatever branch be chosen the teaching must necessarily, with our existing staffs, be of the most perfunctory kind. If, therefore, a choice must be made, it may be as well to keep in view rather the doctrine than the method, rather the utility of the facts than the value of the logical procedure; and this the more so, inasmuch as a good logical training

would already have been furnished by the lower sciences. Now surely it must be admitted that no Biological facts are more important than those which relate to the human subject. As to the intellectual and affective functions of man, all that is required at present is an empirical analysis, and this is furnished in the works of our greatest poets. For Moral and Moral Philosophy (in an unsystematised form), we can have no better teachers than our Shakespeares and Miltons, our Scotts and Defoes.

‡ The kind of lax morality which is now-adays encouraged by our shallow thinking, our superficial reading, and our hasty writing, is, in my opinion, far more permanently debilitating than any of the grosser vices.

cated. There is already far too much superficiality in our teaching; superficiality is in fact the bane of our system throughout. The pupils, as a rule, entertain absurdly exaggerated ideas as to the value of their intellectual attainments. They appear to think it perfectly just and proper that the little knowledge, which the poet has pronounced to be "a dangerous thing," should be lauded to the skies, and paraded before an unsuspecting public as if it were a very grand and wholesome thing. The mere show of knowledge is unblushingly made to do duty for real and effective knowledge, and a few second-hand scraps of information are so manipulated as to give an appearance of profundity and originality, much in the same way as a dozen actors on the stage are made to appear a respectable regiment. Nothing should be done to increase this sad defect. We certainly should be conferring upon it an additional sanction, by our own bad example and glaring inconsistency, if the teaching of so complex and special a subject as Biology were entrusted to the mathematicians and scholars of our home universities. The unfortunate Professors in Indian colleges, as it is, are not unfrequently compelled to take subjects, in the teaching of which they have had no practical experience. They may by diligence overcome the difficulties in their path so long as the subjects are congenial to their general mode of thought, but no diligence would enable them to master such a subject as Biology, which requires a special and prolonged training. The few desultory ideas that could be picked up from elementary text-books would be utterly worthless, except to the Professor himself. Such unorganized knowledge could not inspire him with that consciousness of strength which arises from a brain saturated with fruitful conceptions, and which alone can enable the teacher to place himself completely *en rapport* with the undeveloped intellects of his youthful disciples.

Then there is another difficulty which, if Physiology and Metaphysics were allowed to flourish side by side, would present itself. Our teaching would then be so obtrusively heterogeneous that the students could not fail to be painfully perplexed, and rendered far more unsettled in all their convictions than they are even now, and the actual disturbance is assuredly sufficiently great. Would it not be highly incongruous (to use the mildest term) if we were simultaneously to appeal to the consciousness of the immaterial Ego, and to the canons of the Physiologist which restrict all our real knowledge to positive phenomena, while asserting that there is no function without some corresponding organ upon which it is intimately and essentially dependent? This difficulty might be lessened, but would not wholly be removed, by making Philosophy optional; the only way to remove it effectually would be by eliminating Philosophy altogether.

Whatever may be thought of the scheme I am now criticising, in its details, there can be no doubt that in its general aspect it is a conspicuous sign of the times in which we of the West are living. The recommendation to abandon the present course of Metaphysics is in itself sufficient to stamp the Report as inimical to the old order; to show that it is but another stone hurled from the sling of ruddy Science against that disdainful Philosophy, whose defiance waxes fiercer as the moment of overthrow is nearer at hand. To those that have ears to hear does not this Report seem to whisper—"Arise, henceforth be men, and put away childish things"? Science is ready to bestow upon you her rich inheritance; welcome her then, and, as a pledge of your allegiance, relegate forthwith to the broad Limbo of Vanities the trumpery of a vain Philosophy, of a Philosophy which is neither frankly scientific nor frankly metaphysical, which puts on the garb of Science and yet keeps in the background theories which, if consistently carried out, would make all science impossible, which arrogantly prescribes limits for her young and exulting adversary, crying aloud,—“Hitherto shalt thou come and no further; where thought and feeling and free-will commence thy sway is at an end; go and exercise dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, but touch not with thy sacrilegious sceptre Man who is created in the image of God.”

In their concluding remarks the members of the Committee say,—“As a knowledge of the elements of science becomes infused into the present generation of pupils, and as the popular knowledge of common things, which it is so well fitted to impart, filters down through the teachers and pupils, it will become possible to enlarge and systematize the scheme, and this the Committee look forward to as the not distant result of the measures now proposed.” These words embody, as I think, a complete misapprehension of the true nature of our educational influence in this country. How is the teaching to filter down? What is the stratum that it is expected to reach? Has it not been satisfactorily settled by the Director's last Report, that we really attract only a single class to our *English* schools and colleges, and that class for the most part a needy one, consisting in a great measure of those who are unwilling to dig (as the Evangelist tersely expresses it), but who hesitate not to accept the most miserable pittance so long as the labour demanded is purely intellectual? Let our teaching filter down, and what would be the inevitable consequence? Those who were brought under its influence would immediately quit the plough or the shop, for the office and the pen. Is this a healthy state of things to encourage, and are we justified in still further fostering the idea, already so deeply rooted in the Hin-

doo mind, that manual labour is degrading, and that genteel poverty has a kind of inherent claim to be petted, and rewarded, and exalted above the honest sweat of the ryot or the artizan ? We have done much injury already by inundating the country with Government scholarships, and by stimulating private generosity to make it easy for poor Bráhmans and Kaysthas to obtain a free English education. There are numbers of students, in our schools and colleges, who are quite out of place there, who ought, in fact, to be adding to the material wealth of the country, instead of wasting their energies in preparing themselves for professions already overstocked, and for which they are seldom suited. They come mostly for the sake of Government appointments, or in order to gain a livelihood by the practice of the law ; their object is a purely self-regardant one, and they have no more sympathy with the classes beneath them than the cosmopolitan fops of the Parisian boulevards have with the workmen of Belleville or the obtuse peasants of Champagne. That learning and enlightenment will ever filter down through such an exceptional class to the great masses of the people below, is a mere chimera. Our educational system has only one valid reason for its existence, which is, that so long as we hold the country it should provide an adequate number of intelligent native officers both able and willing to assist the ruling power in carrying on the work of Government. When we step beyond these limits, we are undertaking a fruitless task, and one which the State, for various reasons, ought not to assist in accomplishing. The fabric of Hindúism should be left to perish by its own inherent weakness, and the people should be allowed to build for themselves, peacefully and without compulsion, an ampler and more imposing superstructure. Development though slow is not extinct, the old Bráhmanism has been too long in the ascendant it may be, but the society which could give birth to Buddhism in the far past, is, we may depend upon it, destined for some immense conflict and noble triumph in the future. We Englishmen, who profess the doctrine of religious neutrality, should adhere to our professions unflinchingly, and should remember that the spirit of those professions is really violated quite as much by the heedless iconoclasm of scornful negativists, as by the hot zeal of indefatigable propagandists who destroy only with a view to replace. If this were frankly admitted, we should be saved much unprofitable experimentation and much useless expenditure. In order to revolutionize the thoughts and habits of the people at large, as many aim at doing, our efforts are all too feeble ; but in order to secure an adequate number of trained officials for the work of Government, these efforts are far too strenuous. To cripple the high education for the sake of the lower is a policy which can only result in disaster ; the

former will be ruined, the latter will not be benefited. The high education does *some* good, but as we descend the academical scale, there are strong reasons for suspecting that the inefficiency of the machinery employed and the poverty of the results obtained become greater and greater, while the injury done by encouraging a distaste for manual labour and commercial pursuits, is not proportionately diminished. The State cannot interfere with advantage in *general* education until the various classes of society in India are far more homogeneous than they now are; and I much doubt whether an alien Government can, under any circumstances whatever, effect permanent good by educational machinery which must, more or less, be in the hands of the ruling power, and therefore in the hands of men who cannot fully sympathize with the wants of the people. The *high* education in India should, however, be regarded as altogether exceptional; not as a revolutionary engine for destroying the numerous idols of the Hindú Pantheon, but as a useful unostentatious means for furnishing the Government with an adequate number of native assistants endowed with certain special capacities, denationalized to a certain extent, and therefore necessarily (if unfortunately) forming a class apart, distinct from the general body of their fellow countrymen. If this view be adopted, our colleges must be regarded in the light of special institutions, corresponding to the schools of Engineering, Design, &c., in European countries; and no expense should be spared by the Government to render them effective.* If the area of operations were limited to the number of individuals deemed necessary for carrying on the work of Government, in its higher branches, the expenditure to be incurred would be very much less than that now required for keeping up a vast machinery which produces results that are, I feel confident, wholly delusive. This scheme of the Physical Science Committee is just one of those which are calculated to strengthen and perpetuate these delusive results. The object evidently is to exalt the schools at the expense of the colleges. The Committee is anxious to popularize science, and to let it filter down by degrees to the general mind — an aim well enough in the abstract, but altogether premature in a state of society like that which now prevails in Bengal. Does the Committee really entertain the idea that any important change in the national mind could be effected by the introduction into our schools of a few superficial lessons upon Physical Science?

* If this view is considered untenable, I should be in favour of the State gradually abandoning education altogether. If private bodies can efficiently perform the work I have

carved out for the State colleges, or if Bengalis themselves can take it into their own hands, then the State system of education in India is wholly worthless.

Does history warrant us in concluding that great social or intellectual reforms can arise anywhere, except in obedience to inherent tendencies in the people among which they take place, and without some strong belief operating upon their feelings so as to stimulate and sustain their action?

By introducing such changes as these into the schools of India we are endeavouring to force upon minds, still in a most undeveloped state, forms of thought which even now, after many centuries of intellectual conflict, are battling their way in order to gain due recognition in the most advanced communities of western Europe. Our educational system in this country, if it is to be preserved at all, should not be injudiciously tampered with, and such changes only should be tried as are likely to be attended with success. The present course of instruction is certainly capable of being vastly improved, but it should be improved rather by pruning and strengthening the curriculum as it now stands, than by adding to it subjects which as yet the general Hindú mind is quite incapable of assimilating. The majority of school-boys in this country would regard experiments in Physical Science as nothing more than skilful feats performed by the aid of some mysterious magical power. They would be surprised but not edified. It may be answered that a knowledge of the laws of nature would in time correct such idle wonder. No doubt it would, if we could depend upon the knowledge being appreciative and real, but to secure this a very long period would be required, and vast preliminary modifications must be effected throughout the whole sphere of Hindúism. Consider for a moment the modifications which Europe has undergone since she emerged from Polytheism; how ripe she now is, compared to India, for a scientific *régime*, and yet how difficult it is to get science introduced into her schools, or to persuade ordinary minds to pay any attention to scientific principles. Are we not then expecting too much from Bengáli boys, whose every-day-life outside the school is passed in an atmosphere thoroughly unscientific, that they should master all the subjects prescribed for them in this most ambitious Scheme? To master them properly would be a difficult task for a more than ordinarily clever school-boy in England, where, however, there would be opportunities afforded by means of museums, and lectures, and frequent intercourse with persons of scientific tastes,—opportunities such as are entirely wanting in the case of those who frequent our Indian schools.

This Scheme, in fine, is thoroughly premature, and too incongruous to be attended with success under any circumstances. It is evidently a patch work, a compromise between the suggestions of various savans, each enamoured of his own particular

branch, and not the systematic product of one organic symmetry-loving mind.

S. LOBB.

[NOTE.—We are sure that our readers will thank us for publishing this able and exhaustive discussion of a very important educational question. Its general conclusions are perfectly in harmony with our avowed policy ; but we think it necessary, in honesty and for the sake of consistency, to state that some of its sentiments do not quite accord with the principles advocated in this *Review*. For instance, we are inclined to place a higher value on the results of the system of high education that now obtains in Bengal ; and we are unable to fall in heartily with the writer's enthusiastic admiration for the tendencies of certain scientific movements in Europe.—EDITOR.]

ART. VIII.—TOPICS OF THE QUARTER.

IN introducing to the notice of our readers this first series of Notes on some of the more important questions of current interest—a series which we propose to make a permanent feature of the *Review*—a few words to explain its *raison d'être* may not be out of place.

An influential Indian journal, in commenting on one of our recent numbers, pointed out that the peculiar province of the *Calcutta Review* ought to be “to guide and direct Indian thought;” and complained that we had not devoted sufficient attention to the discussion of current questions, considering the amount of time at our disposal. We accept the definition of our prime function as the only Indian *Quarterly*, as far as we may do so without arrogance; it has been, and will be, our constant and chief aim to do what may in us lie to aid in the formation of a sound and rational public opinion in this country, and to act as the truthful and unbiased exponent of that public opinion both here and in Europe. But it is not fair to measure the time at the disposal of our contributors, by the interval which occurs between the dates of our issues. Men of letters in India are almost invariably busy men. Our men of thought are very generally at the same time our men of action. The very fact gives a peculiar value and significance to their writings; for it is (as Bacon says) “a conjunction like unto that “of the two highest planets, Saturn the planet of rest and contemplation, and Jupiter the planet of civil society and action.” But the duties of civil society and action are here often so absorbing, as to leave little leisure for contemplation. Moreover, the space at our command is limited; current questions are usually, though not necessarily, political questions; and as the scope of our *Review* is at least as much literary and scientific as political, it is obviously impossible for us to devote an article of the ordinary length to each one of the many current topics of the quarter.

The following collection of short “Notes” represents an attempt to meet the difficulties which we have now indicated. Many of the ablest writers and acutest thinkers in India are doubtless often unable to find time to write at length—except officially, in which case their productions usually find decent burial in the sepulchre of the Government archives. We believe that many such men, possessed of strong convictions and well able to assign good reasons for the faith that is in them, will not be unwilling

to obtain a medium of communication with the Indian and British public, wherein they may expound their views, each on his own speciality, in a form more concise than that of a regular *Review* article and less ephemeral than that of a newspaper 'leader.' On the other hand, we believe that a periodical *resumé* of this nature, emanating from the most competent and well-informed authorities, and written in a strain of dispassionate criticism, will be at once highly acceptable to our readers, and a really valuable contribution to the cause of thought and progress in India.

Jails.

The first jail of which we have any record in Indian History was established by King Asoka, in his unconverted days. It was on the model of Hell, of which he had obtained a glimpse on a hunting excursion. The punishments were what Mr. Campbell calls "stinging,"—pounding in a mortar and the like. The mortality was "horrible," reaching to about 100 per cent; for the Superintendent had obtained a promise that no one who once entered should be allowed to come out alive. The great difficulty lay in the selection of a man of sufficiently "judicial mind" to preside over this establishment, which we presume was situated in the neighbourhood of the present Mithapur jail. At last a man was discovered, by name Girika the Furious, who spent his whole time in torturing his fellow-creatures, beasts, birds, boys, and girls; and the king at once recognized his suitability for the post, and installed him in the prison named "The Agreeable," where he devoted himself to "devising brave tortures." We are happy to add that on king Asoka's conversion, his very first act was to seethe his *protégé* in one of his own caldrons, and to demolish the jail.

Making allowance for the usual exaggerations of a Buddhist *sutra*, we have no doubt that this account depicts pretty clearly the original notion of a jail, as a place of torment. It contrasts strangely enough with the great manufacturing establishment at Alipore, and with some of the mofussil jails; where detention is the only hardship which the prisoners have to endure, and even that detention is all but voluntary. The case of the man who lately hanged himself on the afternoon of his release from a seven years' confinement, is perhaps an extreme instance, not of our modern jail system but of the abuses to which that system is liable. The prisoners are in many parts of Bengal better housed, clothed, and fed than their honest fellow-countrymen outside; and their principal grievance—the want of tobacco—is a grievance only in name, as according to Mr. Campbell's Jail Minute, smoking is almost openly practised. It was

natural that such a state of things should strike an enterprising reformer like the present Lieutenant-Governor ; and he accordingly took the step which has been so much discussed, of transferring the general superintendence of the jail department from a medical to a judicial officer.

On the whole, the step has been applauded by the press, and we can only point to one criticism of a decidedly adverse nature ; for the article on the subject in the last number of this *Review* opposed the withdrawal of jails from medical superintendence by anticipation merely ; the one we now refer to is that contained in the *Indian Medical Gazette* of 1st September. The writer of this paper proceeds on a totally wrong tack when he discusses the question in its general aspect, as if Mr. Campbell had once and for ever withdrawn the jail department from the medical service. He speaks of the loss of the best appointment to which a member of that service could aspire, forgetting that the present incumbent was formally appointed to officiate *temporarily* for a medical man. The question whether a medical man or a magistrate is abstractedly the best jail officer is one question ; the question whether, after medical men have held the charge of jails for a long period, there would not be an advantage in the temporary interpolation of a civilian is another ; and this last is the only question which Mr. Campbell's action ought to raise. Viewing the matter broadly, we do not think that the medical service loses much. Their influence cannot easily pass away from the department. Dr. Mouat, an eminent man, has *created* the jail system in Bengal ; and Dr. Fawcus's *locum-tenens* could not, if he made the effort, obliterate in a few months all the traces of Dr. Mouat's energy and administrative power. Besides, as nearly every jail in Bengal is under the immediate supervision of a medical man, it is absurd to suppose that medical considerations will lose their weight in jail administration, because a layman is placed temporarily at its head. Surely, Mr. Campbell is justified in supposing that judicial considerations ought to have some weight in prison administration, since the prison system is essentially nothing more than an auxiliary to the judicial work of the country. It seems to us that a fair balance is now at last obtained. Economical considerations may be left to the jailors, with their commission on the profits ; medical ones will not be neglected by the medical superintendents of jails ; the Inspector-General will be able to confine himself to the judicial aspect of jail questions.

Nor can it be argued for a moment that no reform is needed. Reform is undoubtedly required, if not in the system, at all events in the practical application of it. As a matter of fact, Dr. Mouat's system is almost *too* perfect. It assumes the existence of jails constructed on the best models, with all the appliances for

penal labour, and with all the conveniences for a proper classification of prisoners. Had the jails been built to suit correct views, Dr. Mouat's rules would have effectually prevented abuses ; but as they are, it is impossible to carry out his system ; and the system is wanting in that elasticity which would enable it to be adapted to inferior jails. So the system is to a great extent neglected, and abuses prevail which assuredly Dr. Mouat would never have countenanced. In some prisons there is no classification at all. The young offender, the ryot who has merely followed his landlord to an agrarian affray, the peasant who has struck a blow in the heat of passion, work in the same yard and sleep in the same ward with habitual thieves and abandoned ruffians. Entering jail comparatively innocent men, they come out hardened criminals, without self-respect, and familiar with crime. In some jails the prisoners under trial, of whom 30 or 40 per cent. are innocent men, are allowed to herd with convicted offenders. Those who confessed their guilt on apprehension, deny it on trial, after unrestricted intercourse with the *habitués* of the jail. In some cases, young boys are placed with the most depraved prisoners and exposed to hideous corruption. Then as to labour, it is notorious that sentences of rigorous imprisonment are rarely carried out in accordance with the law. The short-term prisoners are habitually neglected, as there is not time to teach them a profitable handicraft. Sometimes the prisoners are let out to private persons, and any one who has watched them, pretending, for instance, to weed a station garden, sees at a glance that their condition is infinitely better than that of the free labourer ; they work as much or as little as they like, and they have every opportunity for indulgence in forbidden luxuries. The warder must have his *chillum*, and he would be more than man if he did not pass it round to his gang. The fifteen thousand prisoners, who are confined in lock-ups in the course of a year, have a still easier time of it. There is seldom anything for them to do ; and the sentence of rigorous imprisonment is in their case merely a farce. Looking at long-term prisoners, we say without fear of contradiction, that the sole point which regulates the kind of labour on which they are employed is the means of increasing the jail profits, or reducing the jail expenditure. If profits are not to be had, the labour is only nominal ; if there is a profitable kind of work, the prisoners are set to it without regard to their criminality. Mr. Campbell has already insisted, and it was quite time, that no prisoner should be employed on jail duties unless he had passed a certain portion of his time in first-class labour ; but the labour question has been so much neglected, in spite of the system, that it is actually impossible to ascertain in many jails what class of labour a prisoner has performed.

None of these abuses flow directly out of the jail rules. But the jail rules are responsible for a system of register of such portentous dimensions as to withdraw the Jailor entirely from the work of superintending the prisoners; and for a system of accounts so complicated as absolutely to elude check. Next to the labour and classification, questions, the revision of this system is the most crying want in the administration. It is ideally good, but practically a mistake. It is only carried out perfunctorily, because to carry it out conscientiously would require an expenditure not only of time but of money wholly disproportionate to the good end sought to be obtained; and even to carry it out perfunctorily involves immense labour. What do our readers think of an *Abstract general register* which requires not less (in a large jail) than 500 numerical entries daily, extending over twenty-four folios! And this is one of about twenty registers! Six folio pages are required for the statistics of a hospital with two patients! So much for the registers. The returns are totally useless for the purposes of check, as they are so voluminous and so complicated that if the Inspector-General wants any special piece of information, it is easier for him to write to the jail officer direct than to search for it in the returns which lie in his own office. The expenditure of paper and printing on these registers and returns is enormous; and it should be borne in mind, in estimating the saving to Government by the Alipore Press, that that saving is to a great extent fictitious; as, if the Jail Department had to pay cash for the work, there is no doubt that it would have found means of greatly reducing the quantity.

Here then is a piece of administrative work cut out for the present Inspector-General, to which a medical officer is unaccustomed, and which probably he would find irksome.

We have no space left to reply to the article on jail management in our last number, except by saying that we agree with most of its conclusions without admiring its tone. If the magistracy are so unconscientious in the discharge of jail duties as our contributor alleges, it would hardly be beyond their deserts if instead of "penetrating daily into the interior of prisons, and staying there for some hours," they were condemned to close confinement with the other criminals. The medical management of jails has been undoubtedly a success; but that success has mainly been attained by the simple fact that the Medical Superintendent has more time to spare.

The Lushai Expedition.

It seems to have been agreed on all sides for some time past that it would sooner or later become necessary to give the Lushais a forcible lesson, and we make no doubt that the Govern-

ment of India was entirely right in deciding on an expedition next cold weather. Our policy in past time may have been responsible for a great part of the mischief. It may have been an error to suppose that by paying black mail to the chiefs, completely tying the hands of the local officers, and writing long reports filled with copy-book sentiments, we should induce the Lushais to give up their plundering and murderous habits. In our opinion this certainly was a most mischievous error; but its mischief has already been done and cannot now be undone; and after the outrages of last year, it would unquestionably have been mere folly to delay longer before taking in hand what will have to be done some day or other, if our influence over the hill-men is ever to be restored, and a peaceable policy rendered possible and safe.

But still it is hateful work. In dealing with complete savages, it is necessary to inspire fear in the first instance before it is possible to win confidence and respect. But when the preliminary process consists of burning the villages and destroying the crops of people who may very possibly not be immediately responsible for the outrages avenged, it is a highly unpleasant task which one would gladly escape if it were in any way possible to do so. Independently of the mere difficulties of hill warfare, it is unsatisfactory to feel utterly in the dark about the motives and notions of the enemy; and perhaps the best thing possible is to forget for the moment that they are men like ourselves, and to regard them as wild animals which must be cowed and brought under control before they can be restrained from injuring themselves and others.

The general outlines of the expedition are very easily foreseen. On the Chittagong side the troops will be conveyed within a very few days' march of the Lushai country by water. On the Cachar side there will be more marching to be done through the jungle. But on both sides the only difficulty will be the Commissariat. This may prove to be a real difficulty, but we have no doubt that it will be overcome. Whether elephants or coolies are chiefly relied upon for carriage, the transport of supplies along roads cut through the now impenetrable jungle will doubtless be an expensive matter; but it may safely be assumed that the expeditionary force will reach the Lushai head-quarters and destroy a certain number of villages with their crops. A few men may be lost on the way in some night-attack in the jungle, though this is hardly likely. Possibly too some resistance may be offered at the Lushai villages, though it is far more probable that they will be found empty and deserted. But having taken and destroyed the villages with or without resistance, the question will remain what is to be done afterwards. Of course it will be clearly proved that the villages

destroyed were the very ones from which all the most troublesome marauding parties have issued ; but equally of course we shall all know that the proof is not to be relied on. We shall have accomplished the object of the expedition if we impress on the Lushais a conviction that our arm can reach their country. But this preliminary being over, the question will remain what our policy shall be hereafter ; and a great deal will depend on what is done at first, while the impression produced by the expedition is fresh.

The great objects must, of course, be to bring the wild hill people into contact with ourselves in order that they may become gradually infected with peaceable and orderly ways. The terror produced by an expedition may keep the frontier quiet for a certain number of years, but unless expeditions are to recur periodically, something else is wanted too. If Lushais can, as Mr. Edgar seems to think, be got to enter a sort of irregular frontier corps like the Bhaugulpore Archers in Cleveland's time, no better means could be found for teaching those who join it orderly ways and accustoming them to peaceable habits. Whether this expedient will be tried or not we cannot say ; but it certainly seems worth considering. But it is upon trade that our chief reliance must be placed. As soon as the Lushais find that a good business can be done in the india-rubber, ivory, and other products of their hills, and that the result of a raid is an interruption of their trade and consequent stoppage of supplies, they will be in a fair way to become peaceable and easily managed. But two things are necessary—a trade which can readily be controlled, and freedom of action on the part of the local officers. The latter can easily be given ; and we are very much inclined to think that in order to secure the former, Government should itself trade with the hill men, offering a certain price for the various hill products, and sending them down to Calcutta. This could be done so as to involve no loss, and it would be quite unnecessary to establish a monopoly. Government, as the largest trader, and with an unlimited amount of capital, would doubtless become such an important customer of the leading Lushais that they would not readily offend it. And if the private trade should ever attain large dimensions, this will imply the very intercourse between the hill men and ourselves which it must be our object to secure, and Government may therefore safely then give up operations of barter on its own account. If Mr. Edgar, when next he visits a Lushai chief, has to negotiate not about boundaries and raids and family feuds, but about the price which he is prepared to give for elephants' tusks, we believe his proposals will be much better understood and much more likely to produce permanent good results.

Education in Bengal.

One of the most important educational topics of the quarter—the proposed introduction of Physical Science as a compulsory subject in the Arts course of the Calcutta University—has been made the subject of a special article in another place; so that we need not allude to it here, further than to express our opinion that the proposed study, if it can be introduced without enlarging the area of examinations already too extensive and too varied, will prove most beneficial to India, in correcting the speculative tendencies of the native mind, and in teaching how best to husband and develop the natural resources of the country.

Muhammadan Education.—We observe with the greatest pleasure several indications of an increased interest, on the part of Government, in the great question of Muhammadan education. We believe it is impossible to overrate the social and political importance of this question; and we trust that the authorities will enter upon its consideration with that earnestness, and at the same time with that careful discretion, which the magnitude and delicacy of the interests involved deserve at their hands. Judging from the Resolution of the Government of India on the subject lately published, we are of opinion that discretion, even more than earnestness, is the quality most needed in the educational policy of our rulers. The wording of the Resolution is certainly unfortunate, for it has created an impression widely prevalent amongst Muhammadans and expressed in many of the newspapers, that the Government is only anxious to produce a larger number of Persian and Arabic scholars and antiquarians; and that it is unwilling to allow to the Musalmán those material advantages and that social and political power which the extended study of English literature and science has given and is giving to the Hindú. We believe that the real intentions of the Government are far otherwise; and that it would be glad to see the intelligent Muhammadan community of Bengal in possession of such an education as would enable them to take a dignified and useful part in the new life of culture and scientific progress which the introduction of the learning and civilization of the West is opening out for this country. But this should be clearly understood on all sides; and therefore it should be definitely expressed, and not hidden under a cloud of talk about Arabic and Persian learning. Talk of this kind serves no other purpose than the pernicious one of flattering the vanity and encouraging the bigotry of a few reactionary Maulavis who still adhere to those exploded orientalist ideas and fanatical prejudices, which under the guise of respectability and devotion to the faith have done more than anything to reduce the Musalmán community to the deplorably useless and degraded political condition so graphically described in Dr. Hunter's recent

work.* These prejudices are so strong, that the really enlightened and progressive Muhammadans of the country, who are determined that their co-religionists shall no longer be thus heavily weighted in the social race, will, in any case, have a long and severe struggle in establishing the ascendancy which they have been gradually gaining amongst the Muhammadans of this province; it undoubtedly behoves the Government to strengthen their hands by every possible encouragement and assistance.

We confidently appeal to these enlightened Muhammadan gentlemen, and to those of our readers who have any familiar acquaintance with the requirements and wishes of intelligent Muhammadans, to bear us out in an emphatic declaration, that those requirements and wishes can best be met by a simple and straightforward policy, plainly declared by the Government, involving immediate action on the three following points:—*First*, facilities should be afforded to all Muhammadans who are in a position to aspire to anything more than a mere primary education, for acquiring that *slight* acquaintance with Arabic and Persian which their religion and their social customs demand. This may readily be accomplished by appointing Maulavis in a few central schools in each district, and in all the schools in those districts which contain a large Musalmán population; it would be a graceful concession to feelings which are not unreasonable when not carried to an extreme, and which therefore we are bound to respect. *Secondly*, a few men of decided scientific tastes and high abilities should be encouraged to cultivate the Arabic and Persian learning to its fullest extent. Provision already exists for this purpose in the Calcutta Madrasah, and in the Arabic Department of the Hooghly College, and we believe that arrangements are being made for fully utilising this provision. It should, however, be clearly understood that the provision is meant, not for the ordinary Muhammadan gentleman who has to make his way in the world and is desirous of obtaining a suitable education—but solely for the rich *dilettanti* who can afford to devote their lives to scientific pursuits, and for those brilliant scholars who hope to make a name for themselves by the diligent cultivation of abstruse learning. *Thirdly*, and chiefly, the utmost facilities should be afforded to Muhammadans of acquiring a sound knowledge of English literature and science. They should be taught English concurrently with the small necessary amount of Arabic or Persian, in the schools referred to under the first head. They

* When the above note was written, we were only acquainted with Dr. Hunter's work through the medium of the articles in the *Spectator* and the *Athenæum*. Since it has

been set up in type, we have had access to the work itself; its educational suggestions will be briefly considered in a short review amongst our *Critical Notices*.

should be encouraged, by scholarships and otherwise, to proceed thence to one of our English Colleges. If they desire it, let one of these colleges be set aside for their especial use; but this point is not nearly so important as the establishment of a hostelry in the immediate vicinity of a College, where the Musalmán students may live amongst people of their own religion, apart from the real or supposed irreligious influences of a life amongst infidels. Strict Muhammadans strongly object to their sons being subjected, far from their own homes, to these influences; and when we remember the similar prejudice that exists amongst Protestants and Roman Catholics at home on this very point, we cannot consistently blame them. If a College be set apart for them, it should be raised above the level of an ordinary Mofussil College; it should be fully and ably officered, liberally endowed with scholarships, and put on a par in every respect with the best Hindú College in Bengal. With such a College, supplemented by ample hostel-accommodation, and fed by schools in the way we have indicated, we believe that Muhammadans would soon regain a large share of their lost importance in the country. It is a noteworthy fact that the Muhammadan students, who are successful in the University examinations, are already more numerous, *in proportion to the numbers who go up*, than those of any other religion.

The English Press has reviewed Dr. Hunter's book with a careful attention that is very grateful to us, as indicating the increasing interest in Indian affairs that has been aroused in England. The *Athenæum* says:—"Our belief is that the best way of disarming the hostility of the thirty millions of Muhammadans in India . . . is to respect their prejudices . . . and show that we really have their well-being at heart." We have, however, a higher duty than even that of "disarming the hostility" of the fanatical portion of the community which is really opposed to us; we have to encourage and strengthen the intelligence and loyalty of the well-disposed; and we believe that this object will be most readily and thoroughly effected by the educational policy which we have attempted to sketch.

The Bengal Colleges.—We turn from the particular question of Musalmán education to a more general one which has been mooted by the *Friend of India*; which derives a factitious importance from the current belief that the mischievous views enunciated by the *Friend* are also entertained in high quarters in Calcutta. The question refers to the character of the education that is imparted to the undergraduates of the Calcutta University, in the Government Colleges. The theory is started that this education is too scholastic, too "learned"—that (in the words of the *Friend*) "there is too much of the Professor, and too little of the

Schoolmaster.* It is difficult to conceive a theory more injurious to the cause of culture and real intellectual progress in Bengal, or one more wantonly regardless of the purses of the tax-payers.

To take the more practical and material objection to the theory first. That it displays a singular disregard for the proper application of the public expenditure will be obvious, when it is remembered that, thanks to the Education Department, there is (or will soon be) a supply of qualified *native* schoolmasters amply sufficient for all purposes of primary and secondary education in this province. To keep up the supply, and improve the quality, of this native material should be points (amongst others) aimed at by our collegiate system—but certainly not to substitute an expensive imported material for the cheap indigenous one. Every Professor that is selected by the Secretary of State from the honor-lists of the home Universities, and sent out here under covenant, costs the country £150 for mere passage-money and outfit; not to mention the fact that his pay, even with the utmost higgling of the market, is necessarily far higher than that which will command the services of the most efficient native schoolmasters. Let us not commit the old blunder of using razors to cut blocks. Even if India could afford to import English graduates to teach the boys of the country, it would be a perfectly objectless extravagance. It would be highly unjust to the many native graduates who are fully competent to undertake the instruction of their youthful fellow-countrymen; and who not unreasonably look to the Education Department, as affording them a congenial field for the utilisation of their acquirements; wherein they may earn an honourable livelihood, and at the same time cultivate their tastes as men of letters, and communicate to others some of those educational advantages which they have themselves enjoyed. To occupy this field, which legitimately belongs to native scholars, by a foreign and far more expensive body of men, would be in direct contravention of the repeated directions of the Secretary of State, for the employment of natives in those posts which they are qualified to hold. The task of imparting an ordinary school-education to the youth of the country must be confided entirely to native schoolmasters; and if such an education be all that we intend to offer to Indian scho-

* The Lieutenant-Governor has actually ordered the withdrawal of the Professorial staff from one of the Colleges, Berhampore; and this will necessitate the reduction of the standard of instruction imparted, to that which is required for the First Arts Examination of the University. We

trust that this betokens concentration, not reduction, of the highest teaching power in Bengal. If the Professors withdrawn from Berhampore go to recruit some of the other Colleges, where their help is much needed, we believe that the measure may be productive of good.

tars, however susceptible of a higher culture they may show themselves to be, the sooner we turn our Colleges into High Schools manned entirely by native officers, and abolish the University of Calcutta except as an examining body for testing middle-class education, the better for the imperial exchequer and for our own reputation for honest administration.

But dare we thus knock off the top-stone of our educational edifice, in face of the repeated declarations of our statesmen, both in and out of Parliament, that we wish to afford to the Indian subjects of the Queen *all* the literary and scientific advantages which they may fairly expect to gain from their connexion with one of the most highly cultivated nations on earth? The Government have declared over and over again in the most solemn manner that they are anxious to admit natives to a participation in the highest employments of the State, that they wish to promote the creation of a sound and scholarly vernacular literature, that they desire to see the legal and the medical and the engineering professions in this country filled by native gentlemen of high scientific attainments; can we with any decency, after such declarations, deliberately take away any of those opportunities for acquiring a high literary and scientific culture, which were provided for native scholars by the wisdom and the sympathy of our predecessors? Sound and deep learning, and accurate science, are as yet exotics in India; their acclimatisation must be the work of years. It is true that the work which has already been done, cannot altogether be undone; the learning and civilisation of the West, once introduced, will probably never die out. But it is not difficult to see that they must deteriorate—or, at any rate, that they cannot hope to keep pace with European progress—if totally, or even partially, cut off from direct communication with their sources of light and life in the English Universities; and this will be the result of any reduction, or any relegation to other duties, of the Indian Professoriate.

We firmly believe that high English education—and by this we do not mean that smattering which enables a young man to pass the Entrance, or even the First Arts,* Examination of the Calcutta University—has done something towards the introduction of true culture, in the highest sense of the word, into this country. This is of course a matter of opinion; some very competent authorities (represented by Mr. Lobb) think that we have not yet succeeded in imparting any true culture to natives, and that we are bound to improve our system until we do succeed; others think that we

* We regret to see it officially (though of course not necessarily a *maximum*) literary qualification for forward to be considered a *sufficient* the subordinate executive service.

have not so succeeded, and that we ought not to try—*le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*. But it is undeniable that immense intellectual advantages have accrued to Bengal from the attempts that have been made. We may perhaps best point our remarks by quoting from a native writer. The *Bengalee* in a particularly temperate and modest article, says on this subject :—

“ Though high education in Bengal has not yet produced any eminent author in any department of literature or science, it has raised no less than four Bengalees to the Bench of the High Court ; it has produced a bar which though far inferior to that of Westminster Hall in point of learning, can, according to the testimony of no less an authority than Sir Barnes Peacock, argue cases with considerable ability, and a body of medical practitioners, some of whom are as skilful as their European brethren ; it has sent some members to the Legislative Council of Bengal who scarcely yield to their European colleagues in any respect ; and it has raised Bengal to a political status superior to that of the other Presidencies.”

We might easily add to this list of its achievements. We might refer to Bengalis who have beaten the picked and trained Englishmen who compete for the Covenanted Civil Service, in the language, literature, and history of England itself ; to others who have taken distinguished places in college examinations in Cambridge ; to a very large number of able and intelligent officers in the subordinate judicial and educational services ; to the extension of the vernacular literature, the growth of which is attested in our own *Critical Notices*. These are all proofs of an intellectual progress in Bengal, the existence of which cannot be denied even by those who doubt its soundness and permanence. Can any one for a moment believe that this progress will be maintained, if the Government Colleges be in any way maimed, or if their exertions be diverted to other purposes ? And is it of no great importance to the country that this progress should be maintained ?

A slight change that has just been effected in the constitution of the *personnel* of the Department, promises to have valuable results in more ways than one. Some of the highest officers of the subordinate Education Service, being Headmasters of collegiate schools, have been attached to some of the Mofussil Colleges with the honorary title of Assistant-Professor.* The promotion is a

* The promotion does not, we believe, at present carry with it any increase of pay ; but we hope that it may ultimately be allowed to do so. The additional burden on the exchequer would in any case be very trifling ; for these gentlemen, having no covenant with the Secretary of State,

and not being included in the graded list, will have no claim to any of those advantages (in the way of promotion in the grades, and improved furlough and pensions) which are, or are likely to be, possessed by the higher Service.

graceful tribute to long and meritorious service; and will at the same time serve to relieve the Professors of some of that part of the college-work which we believe (as may be inferred from what we have said above) belongs rather to the schoolmaster than to the Professor.* The difficulty of rewarding merit in the subordinate Service has apparently been long felt; for on two or three occasions it has been met by the bungling expedient—analagous to the promotion of a line serjeant to a cornetcy—of promoting a Headmaster to the full rank (and full duties) of a Professor; whereby a very efficient officer must usually have been turned into a very inefficient one. This difficulty will perhaps be met by the new arrangement; which also, by affording temporary substitutes for Professors absent from their duties, will deprive the Government of the excuse which has usually been alleged for the way in which acting appointments (especially Inspectorships of Schools) in the higher Education Service have been frequently filled up by outsiders, or not filled up at all. We are strongly of opinion that the appointment of any but a covenanted Education officer to an Inspectorship of Schools or to any place in the higher

* It may perhaps elucidate our meaning here, and at the same time show more clearly wherein exactly we differ from those who would lower the standard of the really *high* education of Bengal, if we state definitely what, in our opinion, is the difference between the functions of the Professor and the schoolmaster. The latter (we are now of course only considering the *intellectual* side of education) has to communicate to youth that *general* knowledge which is required to fit him for his future station in life; the former has to build *upon* this work, the superstructure of *special* knowledge which is required to fit him for his particular place in the world. This superstructure is sometimes technical, as in the case of Professors of Law or Medicine; it sometimes belongs to general science or literature, as with Professors of Astronomy or *Belles Lettres*. It is an error to suppose, in the latter case, that the work is merely an extension of school-work into new and higher subjects; it is different in kind also. The Professor has, or ought, to keep himself *au courant* with—perhaps himself to aid in—the most recent and the furthest development of his

subject, and to communicate the general result to his pupils. The Professor has to pay most attention to the difficulties of the subject taught, the schoolmaster to the idiosyncrasies of the person taught; hence the former generally requires more erudition, the latter more tact and practical wisdom.

It is difficult to understand why the *Friend of India* should suppose that it is only the intellectual pride of the Indian Professors that makes their instruction too little like that of schoolmasters. The two occupations are perfectly distinct; and cannot with any propriety be joined in one person. It is true that the one article usually (not always) commands a higher price in the market—especially in India, where for a long time to come it must be imported; whilst the other is best indigenous, for the native schoolmaster can understand his pupils far better than any European. But they are equally useful and honourable. Arnold—who knows not Arnold?—and Temple would have been thrown away as Oxford Professors; just as Conington or Jowett would have been lost at Rugby.

grades of the Service, is a direct violation of the covenant* under which the fourth-grade officers have come out to this country ; and therefore we hail with pleasure an arrangement which promises to prevent the recurrence of this very tangible grievance.

Mr. Campbell's Income-Tax Minute.

The truth is gradually coming out about the income-tax. Last year we were assured that the outcry against it was raised by a few interested Europeans in the Presidency towns, whose complaints were echoed in the native papers. All over the country people of all classes said that the tax was working great injustice, and causing deep and general discontent ; but Sir Richard Temple knew better. Non-officials, it is well known, are not to be trusted ; and the officials merely cried out because their salaries were cut. In the whole of India, only thirteen cases of injustice had occurred ; and though, like other human institutions, not absolutely perfect, the income-tax was, on the whole, a thoroughly satisfactory way of raising revenue ; and as for Mr. Inglis and other such like grumblers they were all influenced by personal motives. One of them had been wiggled for mismanaging assessments in his own district. Another was a professional croaker who objected to every thing indiscriminately. No one who opposed the tax was an honest man.

Of course in this country no one believed all this. Our only doubt was whether the Government of India itself believed in its own statement. But it was repeated again in England and was doubtless swallowed there without much hesitation ; and whether actual mischief was done or not, there is something very pleasant in the sound when a bladder, which has been vigorously used as an offensive weapon, finally explodes. Moreover, to any one who has at heart the interests of sport and appreciates good hard fighting, it is pleasant to anticipate what will happen next session in the Finance Committee, when Mr. Fawcett armed with the latest income-tax reports has a fair go-in at Mr. Grant Duff and his *protégés* in this country. It is pleasant too for us in Bengal to think that we seem likely to have the privilege of supplying a considerable share of the weapons for the attack. It will probably be said or hinted that Mr. Campbell, like Mr. Inglis and every one else who regards the income-tax with any other feeling than respectful admiration, is influenced by personal motives. He succeeded Sir Richard in the Central Provinces and is jealous of the glory won by that illus-

* The covenant of Education Officers contains the following clause :—
“ You will be eligible for promotion to the higher classes of the educational Service as vacancies occur.” If this mean *anything*—and we cannot

suppose that the Secretary of State would deliberately set a trap for unsuspecting Oxford and Cambridge men !—it means that no others are equally eligible.

trious man who, as is well known, *Nagporæ opes diu neglectas miranti populo patefecit*. Or if this explanation fails, another can readily be found to serve the turn. For our part, at the risk of being classed among cowardly critics, we prefer to treat on their own merits the questions raised in the Lieutenant-Governor's recent minutes instead of attributing motives for his bringing them forward. And they are certainly awkward for Sir Richard and his allies.

For it must be remembered that the question in debate last year was a question of fact. The outside public alleged that gross injustice was being done on all sides. Sir Richard simply denied the fact. He will probably now endeavour to change the issue by the assertion that there need not have been injustice if the law had been properly worked. Here too we are prepared to meet him, and to maintain that the requisite machinery for working such an income-tax as we have hitherto had is entirely wanting, at all events in Lower Bengal. But this we say again is not the point at issue. The public alleged and Government denied that the action of the tax was, as a matter of fact, causing suffering and discontent. And the evidence on this subject contained in the Board's report and noticed by Mr. Campbell is very telling.

For instance it is noticed that the tax-payers of 1869-70 were upwards of 50 per cent. more numerous than those of 1870-71, though no change was made in the classes of incomes assessable under the law; and what this means it is very easy to see, namely, that when the screw was put on by raising the rate of taxation to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., thousands of people who had been improperly assessed had to be let off. They could borrow or somehow raise five rupees, but not more than thrice that sum. They were driven to appeal, instead of quietly paying what was asked in order to avoid the trouble, danger, and expense of litigation. Or the assessor was driven to take their names off the list because he knew they could not be forced to pay the sum required.

Then again it is absolutely incredible that the district of Maunbhoom can be properly assessed at a higher sum than the rich and prosperous districts of Hooghly, Burdwan, Jessore, and Nuddea. Under the former income-tax, it paid a very small sum, and nothing but gross injustice can have brought its contribution above that of the suburban districts.

Finally we agree with the Lieutenant-Governor in refusing to believe that there can be more than thirty-four thousand mere cultivators in the Lower Provinces with incomes above Rs. 500 a year. It is no new discovery, however, that under this iniquitous tax the rich escape and the poor are heavily burdened. This is precisely what its opponents have loudly asserted from the first. It is mere folly to suppose that if administered by native agency, this will not always be the case; and it is as easy to deceive

Europeans as to influence natives. It all comes back to this that however equitable the income-tax may be in theory it is grievously oppressive in practice, because there are no means of assessing it with even a distant approximation to correctness. Some improvement may no doubt be made by employing as assessors experienced deputy collectors, instead of unmedwars. Undoubtedly too, less injustice will be done since the limit has been raised to Rs. 750. But when all is said and done, it seems to us clear that if direct taxation in this Province is ever to be worked without causing grievous oppression, it must be in the way suggested by Mr. Campbell a few months ago in Council. The income-tax should be handed over to the local Governments, who must be allowed to make assessments gradually and carefully without any attempt at minute accuracy, and without aiming at large immediate returns. If this were done, and if at the same time the tax were made not merely provincial but local, the proceeds of each district being spent within it, public opinion might gradually come to be in favour of correct assessment. Men would not take an unnecessary burden on themselves, but they might try to prevent others getting off too easily if a certain total sum had to be raised, so that light assessment of one implied heavier burdens on the rest. And if ever this feeling were to spring up, even rich men might be assessed correctly enough for all practical purposes.

Mr. Campbell and the Board of Revenue.

Public correspondence in India, and more particularly in Lower Bengal, is generally carried on in such smooth carefully measured phrases, that the little world which cares about such things was partly shocked and partly amused at the slightly brusque style in which Mr. Campbell in May last told the Board of Revenue that he considered them and Bengal officers generally a parcel of old women. In the course of the further correspondence which followed up this vigorous attack, the views at first expressed were considerably toned down; and in the last-published letter Mr. Campbell assured his subordinates that he had the highest regard for them, and even went so far as to say that, but for untoward circumstances, he felt sure they would have been very sensible fellows.

The style of criticism adopted does not seem to us to have been happy. Where reforms are to be carried out, it is hardly discreet to address every one connected with existing institutions in a tone which would be regarded as unduly arrogant, if it were adopted by God Almighty towards a black beetle. This does not seem to us to be an effective way of getting work done; and it is the less suitable when it turns out in the end that there is something to be said for the black beetle's notions and ways after all. But the mere

style is a minor point. The matter of this now celebrated correspondence is what we have to consider. And here we cannot but think that there is a good deal to be said on both sides. In the objection which he made to the form and character of the Board's report, Mr. Campbell seems to have been entirely in the right. It is impossible to imagine anything more absolutely useless than that dreary waste of pointless paragraphs. The excuse offered that similar reports have always hitherto met with the approval of Government, was of course good, so far as it went ; but it could go no further than this, that instead of blaming them for the past Mr. Campbell should have warned them for the future. We can see no force in the further excuse that a report intended merely to accompany and explain tabular returns must be of a dry and un-instructive character. Indeed the fact that it is sent up with tabular statements, seems in itself a sufficient reason why a report should not be merely a reproduction in different type of selected extracts from them. At all events whether the Board have hitherto been right or wrong in filling their reports exclusively with sawdust, few people will doubt that Mr. Campbell did wisely in requesting that in future an attempt should be made to report on the results of the land revenue administration, so far as they can be ascertained, instead of allowing an office assistant to fill the pages with purposeless remarks about the figures in the returns. It is quite true that in Bengal it is not very easy to get full information about the effect of our land laws and their administration, on the actual condition of the people ; but the difficulty is less, we believe, than the Board represent ; and such as it is, it is almost entirely due to former proceedings of the Board itself and to some extent of Government. For, between Calcutta and Mofussil, there has long been a great gulf fixed. The authorities at head-quarters have hitherto looked upon local officers as instruments not for the attainment of general results but for the carrying out of certain rules. When a Collector writes up to say that definite evil will result from a certain course of action, he has generally been told that Rule 3 given in circular 5 of 1869, must be strictly observed, and that he will be held personally responsible for any breach of it. Every mofussil officer knows the feelings, with which orders from Calcutta are regarded. It is an understood thing that work is to be done not by means of them, but in spite of them ; and it is generally felt to be far better to render a colourable obedience than to remonstrate. The Collector goes to the Commissioner, and begs him to write up strongly against some new order which he thinks will impede work ; but the Commissioner, if he be a man of experience, is sure to say—"It's only a Calcutta rule. You'd much better manage things somehow, and explain the "best way you can"—and so the farce continues.

Now this is the sort of thing which has to be destroyed, if facts are ever to supersede statements and theoretic rules as the basis of administration. Give the Commissioner and Collector more independence ; let it be felt that facts are not looked upon as an impertinence when they come in the way of theories ; and a great part of the difficulty felt in collecting information will gradually disappear. Men's attention will be concentrated on their districts, instead of being divided between their districts and the Board's rules.

So far then we believe that Mr. Campbell was right in substance. Reports should aim at stating distinct facts and intelligible opinions, and not merely at covering a certain amount of paper. But when this point has been disposed of, the Lieutenant-Governor seems to us to have fallen into several errors. We quite agree with him that an endeavour should be made to keep Government informed as fully as possible of the social and economical condition of the people. Indeed, without such knowledge, all administration and legislation must be carried on in the dark. But when he goes on to say, that the policy of non-interference between landlords and tenants is a new policy of which he disapproves, we cannot but think that he is wrong both in fact and in reason. He would, we believe, find it hard to show that Government, either before or after the Permanent Settlement, has ever interfered between landlords and tenants in these provinces more than it does at present ; and if it be said that they should do so, the simple answer is that the law gives them no such power. And in these provinces the people have happily become so accustomed to the rule of law instead of personal caprice, that they are very unlikely to allow any officer of Government to transgress his legal powers. By all means let us collect facts, and reform our laws and courts. By all means let us legally protect the ryot's tenure of his land, and insist upon our laws being obeyed. But any one who proposes interference other than legal interference between landlords and tenants, simply shows that he does not understand the condition of the country. A few years as a mofussil officer would teach him, that such interference is out of his power.

At the close of the correspondence, Mr. Campbell asked whether Lord Mayo approved of his views. Lord Mayo replied that he heartily concurred in the principles of administration set forth. And so in all probability should we, if it were not that after a careful perusal of all the letters published, we find ourselves a little uncertain, what the principles of administration therein set forth may be.

Settlement Operations.

Of all the questions that have engaged public attention and discussion in this country during the quarter, those affecting the

Land Revenue of India have certainly been amongst the most important and the most interesting. The subject is treated of at length in another part of this *Review*. Many of our readers, practically or theoretically familiar with the details, will be able to follow the arguments of the learned paper to which we refer, with ease and interest throughout. But there may be some who are utterly unacquainted with the usual mode of procedure in Settlement operations ; and to such, we believe, a brief explanation or illustration of what that procedure is in practice, may prove both interesting in itself, and valuable as a sort of key to the more elaborate disquisition.

The Settlement Officer usually commences operations by taking the division of a District called a Parganah, and dividing it into assessment circles. That is, he forms the villages into various groups according to their characteristics. For instance, the villages lying along the banks of a river, where the cultivation depends mainly on inundation, will form one group. Beyond these will be a belt of land, not actually irrigated, but tolerably low, so that water is near the surface ; wells can be easily made, and they form the mainstay of the cultivation—these villages will form a second group. Beyond these may be high ground, where wells cannot be made profitably, and where the crops depend on rain—these will be a third group. And so on, each group differing from the other by some well-known local peculiarity. Having arranged his groups, he proceeds to collect the statistics of each village ; so as to ascertain what changes have actually taken place since the last settlement. His first set of statistics relates to the area, and shows increase and decrease of cultivation, &c. The second set relates to the resources of the village ; and shows the percentage of land manured, of superior crops grown, of land held by tenants, the population, number of cattle, and of wells, &c. The third relates to former assessments up to the present time ; it gives the assessment for each year separately ; and shows at what rate it fell per cultivated acre—in what year balances occurred—whether any remissions were granted, &c. The fourth and last set contains the “ estimates ” adopted at the last settlement, and those proposed for the new one ; these generally are the assessments proposed by the tehsildar, and obtained by a calculation of a certain share of the gross produce, by assessing at so much a well, or so much a plough.

These statistics are added up for the whole of the circle ; and the Settlement Officer then proceeds, from a review of the *whole* of these, to determine what would be a fair assessment in a lump sum, for the whole circle. Having calculated this, he sees at what rate it would fall on the cultivated acre ; and what proportion should be maintained between the different classes of land. The rate thus obtained he calls his revenue rate ; and he proceeds to

multiply the area of each village by it. The result is his revenue rate jummah

He then commences to assess village by village. Of course all the produce-estimates, &c., are also given in detail. He has all his estimates as a guide to show what the assessment should be *primâ facie*; but it is obvious that the *primâ facie* assessment must often be modified greatly by peculiarities of the villages. In some cases it is safe to go beyond the rate jummah—in others, one must fall far short of it. It is unnecessary to describe in detail how this is likely to occur. In all cases, whether the Settlement Officer adheres to, or departs from, the rate estimate, he records his reasons in full in the statement relating to that village.

It is easy to see wherein the practical men and the *doctrinaires* will be at issue, in their ideas of a just settlement. The former take the rate jummahs, the half net assets, the produce estimates, &c., as guides to what is *primâ facie* fair; the latter take them as divinely fixed, and wish to enforce them at all risks. The former observe carefully how the village has got on under the old assessment, and take into consideration many similar points; the latter resolutely ignore everything that cannot be presented in a tabular form.

Promotion in the Civil Service.

A good deal of interest has been excited among the outside public as well as among officials by the question which has recently been raised regarding Civil Service promotion rules. In the good—or were they bad—old days when an appointment in the Service was looked upon as a valuable property rather than a responsible office, there were no difficulties of this kind. Every man had a legal right to the reversion of a constantly increasing salary of which nothing could deprive him. But in the reforming nineteenth century this sort of thing could not last. The strict old rule was first broken and then legally abrogated. Since 1861 it has been legal for the Lieutenant-Governor to make a Commissioner of the lowest assistant in the list, though the old rule of seniority has with regard to the regular line of service continued to be observed. Recently, however, the question has been raised whether the rule of promotion by seniority shall as heretofore be observed; or, whether appointments shall be given at the sole discretion of the Lieutenant-Governor for the time being. And considering that the future character of the whole administrative body depends on the decision arrived at, the matter seems to be of sufficient importance to deserve notice in these pages.

The chief fault in the arguments put forward by the advocates of selection or promotion by merit, pure and simple, is their vague

and general character. Unlimited competition, they say, always brings the best man to the front ; and in this progressive age, we cannot put up with any obstructive hindrance to its operation. Let every man be urged to do his best, and the Devil take the hindmost.

Now there is undoubtedly some truth in all this. A man of first-rate power, in a system of unfettered promotion by merit, would probably soon push himself to the front, and it would be a gain to the Service and the country that he should do so. But the world is not chiefly inhabited, and Indian services are not exclusively manned, by men of genius. On the contrary, the members of any service must for the most part be a very ordinary class of men, and it is far from certain that the honestest and most capable among such men of good average capacity, are those who would come to the front. Great force of character will compel recognition willing or unwilling ; but among men who cannot force themselves up in this way, the choice of Governors in India or elsewhere if it were unfettered would, in the long run, generally fall on pliant instruments and glib talkers or writers who understood how to play the trumpet rather than on earnest sturdy workers. Thus great evils would certainly result ; even if it were allowable to make the absurd assumption that Governors in India or elsewhere, if vested with uncontrolled power of selection, would not frequently use it for the benefit of relatives and friends or men with useful connections in England. It is doubtless advantageous to the administration that men of first-rate ability, if such there are, should be brought to the front and utilized as soon as possible. But the special offices to which appointments have always been made by selection are, in our judgment, quite sufficiently numerous to accommodate all the men of genius whom the present competition system is ever likely to bring at one time into the Service. And looking to the rank and file of the Service, those by whom nearly all the real work of administration is done, there can be no doubt that a system of selection would have most injurious effect. Of most of them the Lieutenant-Governor can know nothing personally, and it would soon become the object of every aspiring man to make himself conspicuous or pleasant, or in some way to get influence with the great man. "Eye-wash" would come into universal use, and cant would become more rampant than ever.

It is absurd to assume that because unlimited competition is found to be the best means of filling up responsible posts in England, it will also be the best method under the totally different circumstances of India. If the day should ever come when the people of India themselves have a voice in their own Government and in the choice of the men who are to rule them, competition may safely be made absolutely free. Even if the members of the

governing body elected those whom they trusted most to the most responsible posts, the case would be very different from what it is at present. But so long as advancement to high position depends on the will of a single man, we believe that the system which reserves appointment for a limited service, and even within that service restricts free competition, is absolutely necessary. To open all appointments to any clever adventurer or to stimulate in civilians the peculiar arts and habits and tone of mind which place-hunting begets, would be almost equally mischievous. It may be said that by selecting men for certain special appointments the principle is admitted. But it is not from the few holders of special appointments that the Service takes its tone. An exception to the rule is found practically necessary, and so long as the general body of the Service retains its independent tone, no great harm is likely to be done. The few take their character from the many.

At the present day it is more than ever necessary to have an independent spirited executive service, because England and India have been brought so close together that India will every year be more and more liable to the danger of being used as a mere instrument for gaining credit and position in England. The only shield which can preserve the country from this sort of thing, is a Service which will obey orders to the best of its power; but which at the same time is not stimulated by gratitude for future favours to become enthusiastic over every new measure; but waits till good results are actually visible, and declines to sing *Io Pæan* till something tangible has been effected.

A College for the Native Nobility.

The possibility of successfully establishing an Indian Eton, and the many benefits that might accrue from such a measure, are topics that have been recently canvassed in many of our newspapers. The question is a social and political one, of great and increasing importance; and we are glad to be able to give our readers a note on an institution of this nature, already a *fait accompli* on the Bombay side. The RAJKUMAR COLLEGE promises to be a great and striking success; we hope it may be the pioneer of an important intellectual and social movement amongst the princes and nobles of India.

This College is founded for the education of the chiefs of Kattywar; which is a province nearly as large as Oudh, containing more than two millions of inhabitants, under the sway of 488 Chiefs and jurisdictions. The province is thus described in 1842:—“In point of education the peninsula must be classed very low indeed: few of the Chiefs can either read or write.” Again, “the Chiefs and leading men have shown the most entire apathy on

"the subject of education."* With this we would contrast the following extracts from the *Report of the Political Agent*, dated "1st July 1871 :—In all the States, generally, education is well "cared for, and is understood to be one of the essentials of good "government"—"an increase of Rs. 20,000 a year towards main- "taining new schools, bringing up the contribution from the Katty- "war Chiefs to Rs. 1,19,699, is very creditable. It shows the "earnestness with which they have joined in the movement."

Again under the heading "prominent events," in the same Report, we find the opening of the Rajkumar College mentioned as "an event in itself as remarkable as any that has occurred." "..... The progress made is most satisfactory and the "thorough masterly mode of treatment adopted in the case of each "young noble will conduce greatly to the future success of the "institution." The learned Principal, Mr. Chester Macnaghten, is spoken of in terms which imply the most cordial appreciation of his services on the part of Colonel Anderson, the Political Agent ; and to these two gentlemen very much of the success of this experiment is evidently due. For it is an experiment hitherto almost untried—this association of young chiefs neither for war nor for debauch, but as fellow-students in a school which is honestly meant to become an Eastern Eton, with "the frank, fearless tone "of an English public school."

The character of the education now given in the college may be described as elementary.† The general tendency of this educa-

* *Report on Kattywar by the Political Agent, 4th October 1842.*

† The following tables show, for the highest and lowest classes, the actual work done in the first quarter of the College's existence ; i.e., between February and April, 1871.

First or Highest Class.

ENGLISH :—Morris' History of India, by	
1st Division...	3 chapters.
Howard's 3rd Book, Part I., by	
2nd Division	38 pages.
Cornwell's Geography	
...	10 pages of America by 1st Division.
	4 pages of Asia by 2nd Division,
	and all the countries of Asia in
	Hope's Guzerathi Geography.
Howard's Rudimentary Gram-	
mar.	40 Sections.
English dictation and copy-	
ing ...	...
GUZERATHI :—Hope's Series, 5th Book,	
History of India	to end of reign of Mulraj.
Green's Idiomatic Phrases	5 pages by heart.
Translation, English into Guzerathi ;	
from Morris' History of India	5 pages.
SANSKRIT :—1st Book,	4 lessons.
ARITHMETIC :—As far as Division of	
decimals	...

tion, and the views of those who are conducting it, may be best gathered from the following paragraphs in the Report of the Principal :—

"The College is a new and peculiar institution. We have not to deal with common individuals, but with a set of young Chieftains on whose future influence and example the welfare of thousands will mainly depend. I therefore think that in training these Chiefs we should seek above all other things to develop liberal opinions, refinement of taste, and broad human sympathies. I wish not to make them thinkers merely, but rather large-minded practical men, sensible of their responsible duties, and able honourably to discharge them. Considering the relation in which the chiefs of Kattywar at present stand to the British Government, I am sure they will gain the greatest advantages from an acquaintance with the language—and through the language the policy—of the protecting Power. They will, I hope, be taught to converse in English freely; and also to take an interest in English books and newspapers. On the other hand, their native language, Guzerathi, will not be neglected; and Sanskrit too will be taught regularly to all who are Hindis. For the Musalmáns I think it would be well to appoint a Persian Moonshi who might also teach Hindustani to all. Easy lessons on natural science would also be of great benefit. . . . I should be also glad to make some arrangements for classes of drawing and music. I should wish that there may be the frank fearless tone of an English public school; but this we cannot ensure. It is not a matter of method or plan. Much will depend on the boys themselves; though more perhaps on their treatment." For their proper physical development I have little fear. They rise at 5 A.M., and take early rides and gymnastic exercises on alternate mornings. They are naturally courageous and manly. Already they take to English games with the pluck and enjoyment of English boys."

The general *management* of the College is in the hands of the Principal; assisted by a Vice-Principal and four masters, including an instructor of gymnastics. There is a committee of twelve visitors to be annually elected, whose chief business will be financial; but who have the right to "enter the college and make observations," but "can give no orders," nor "without special permission enter the class-rooms during school-hours." Moreover—"in

Third or lowest class.

ENGLISH :—Primer 10 lessons.

GUZERATHI :—1st Book, the whole (by one boy).

4th Book, 37 lessons (by another boy).

N. B.—This class contains three boys; of whom one reads Guzerathi with the second class.

ARITHMETIC :—Two boys as far as Subtraction,
one boy as far as Division.

all educational matters the Director of Public Instruction, and in all other matters the Political Agent, will have the power of veto."

Endowments and Expenditure.—The total amount at present raised is £28,000 by way of building fund. The sanctioned expenditure from revenue for the current year is £1932. The whole of this large amount has been contributed by the Chiefs themselves, and has not been supplemented by any contribution from the British Government.

Before concluding, we would revert to the question alluded to at the beginning of this note, as we cannot but feel that it deserves consideration. There is a tendency in some quarters to underestimate the magnitude of the conservative forces with which we have to deal in India; and to manifest both impatience and surprise at the small results of all our efforts to raise and civilize the people. This is often accompanied by a secular bigotry, refusing the title of civilization to all but that which is precisely European or even English. This is an error of ignorance or imperfect information; and chiefly prevails among the English at home and the untravelled dwellers in Presidency towns. It finds its expression in articles and speeches where the foundation of fact is less regarded than the superstructure of rhetoric. There is, however, another and more dangerous error than even this:—*viz.*, a tendency to rely on the unchanging character of oriental systems; and in the very vastness of the problems to be solved in India, to place a security against being called on to face their solution. With the mass of the people rude as they have always been, ignorant and superstitious, willing slaves of immemorial customs—with the real power in Native States in the hands of astute Bráhmans or high-handed Political Agents—with all these things still remaining after the old fashion, what importance need be attached to the gradual spread of education? After all, it affects but a fraction of the people; and a very minute fraction indeed, if by education is meant more than the merest rudiments. Such sentiments as these are not often avowed in these days of great professions of progress and enlightenment; but they are very widely entertained, and by a class not wanting representatives—Hezekiahs who are satisfied with the reflection "is it not good if there be peace in our days?" Nevertheless the fact remains, that year by year a new aristocracy is growing up, distinct from the aristocracies of birth or wealth—an aristocracy of intelligence; while powerful princes are content to devote their revenues to the marriages of pigeons or the barbaric splendour of golden carriages, leaving politics to ministers whom Providence provides for such work, and who, in their turn, provide for their families. There are men among us, with natural abilities of a high order and the artificial acquirements of an advanced education, who cannot but

chafe under their enforced obscurity ; and retain but slight traces of traditional respect for nobles with no better claims than a descent from Mughal satraps or even solar heroes. For the present, the new aristocracy is loyal to the British Government, in spite of all that might be supposed or inferred from the tone of the native newspapers. This is only natural and interested, seeing that the Bráhmaṇ and chief of the old type would promptly extinguish the hopes of the new upstarts, if they were relieved from European pressure. Our native graduates are quite aware that they are not yet a sufficiently strong body to seize the reins of power if they dropped from our hands tomorrow. But if we let matters drift, the time must come when the two forces will be more nearly balanced. Without entering the visionary fields of the future, we can confidently predict that nothing is more clearly demanded from us by the general interests of India, than an honest endeavour to secure the Chiefs and princes of this country against being utterly distanced in the race for knowledge.

